EDITED BY

CHRISTIAN RAFFENSPERGER

AND **DAVID OLSTER**

RADICAL TRADITIONALISM

THE INFLUENCE OF WALTER KAEGI IN LATE ANTIQUE, BYZANTINE, AND MEDIEVAL STUDIES

ΗΑΓΙΑΠΟΛΙϹΙΕΡΟΥϹΑ
ΚΛΗΡ
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Radical Traditionalism

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For Walter Emil Kaegi, Jr.

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Acknowledgments

When we set out to create a celebratory volume for Walter, the question was not whether we could fill such a volume, but where to set its limits. Walter is well loved and respected by the larger scholarly community—so much so that he was honored at the 2011 Byzantine Studies Conference (BSC; which he cofounded with Alice-Mary Talbot) with a series of panels in his honor. Hearing the speakers there talk about their experiences with Walter was fantastic and afterward the conversation continued about his encyclopedic knowledge, multifaceted contributions to scholarship, and not least, his collegiality, open-handed generosity to younger scholars and students, and leadership of the BSC.

Following Walter's retirement from the University of Chicago, we decided that the most appropriate tribute should address not only his scholarship, but also his mentorship. Accordingly, we asked students who had written their doctorates with him to contribute. Most unfortunately, only so many essays could be included, and not all of those who had worked with Walter were able to participate. Although Ari Bryen, Nicholas Koss, Cecilia Liu, Cecily Hilsdale, Ruma Niyogi-Salhi, Frank Clover, and Todd Hickey are not included, they have asked that we pass on their appreciation of everything they learned from Walter, and we thank them for their forbearance.

As the editors of this volume, we would like to thank not just Walter, to whom the volume is dedicated and without whom none of us would have been able to write these pieces, but the contributors as well. They provided fascinating pieces, very much in the spirit of Walter Kaegi, and helped us get this volume off the ground. We would also like to thank Brian Hill and Eric Kuntzman from Lexington Books, as well as the series editor Vlada Stanković, for believing in this project and publishing it. We recognize that this is not always a popular genre for publishers and are grateful that they saw the scholarly merit in this volume.

Chapter 1

Walter Kaegi

Scholar, Teacher, Mentor

David Olster

Walter Emil Kaegi, Jr. was born in Louisville, Kentucky, in 1934, and from a young age acquired a love for history. As he explained in a 2016 interview:

> It was back in elementary school when I decided that I wanted to be a historian, though it was in the senior year of high school that I decided to go into Byzantine history, to study more or less some of the centuries that I work on now, say 4th and 5th century to especially about 11th.[1]

He went on to receive his BA from Haverford College, and his PhD from Harvard University, where he worked under the direction of R. L. Wolff. He received his appointment as an assistant professor at the University of Chicago in 1963, and there he made his academic career. From the time of his first article, "The Contribution of Archery to the Turkish Conquest of Anatolia" in 1964,[2] he published five books, dozens of articles, over one hundred brief notes, reviews, and abstracts, and over one hundred presentations of his scholarship at every possible conference and congress venue, both national and international, and received numerous grants and fellowships that took him to the most prestigious venues for Byzantine research in America, Europe, the near east and north Africa. Moreover, he mentored three generations of graduate students. By any standard of academic achievement, Walter Kaegi's career is a model of scholarly productivity, academic engagement, and international recognition. It thus seems a pointless exercise to write a lengthy introduction to a volume honoring him since his accomplishments speak for themselves.

I think however that what is missing from the honors and grants that Walter has received is an assessment of the place of his scholarship and career achievements in the broader context of Byzantine scholarship and academic life. Walter's scholarship was no random collection of atomized and disparate books and essays, but like every great scholar, he possessed a very self-conscious, historiographic apparatus that gives his work—regardless of the subject—not only thematic and methodological unity, but in my opinion, a distinct intellectual protectory.

It would be an impossible task to comment on Walter's every publication, and in any case, his scholarship is greater than the sum of its parts. Rather, what I would like to do is survey what I consider his most influential works and study how they contribute to Byzantine scholarship as a whole, and second, how they relate to each other both thematically and chronologically. To this end, I would suggest that Walter's work in the main addressed three main themes: contemporary, cultural views of change, particularly decline, both perceived and material; institutional evolution, particularly, but by no means exclusively, military institutional evolution; and last *quellenkritik* and chronology.[3] Naturally, neither the limited sample of his scholarship that I address, nor such broad thematic categories can do justice to the variety and extent of Walter's work. Nor are these thematic aspects of his work mutually exclusive. Quite the opposite in fact: these aspects of his work evolved and developed in relationship with each other. But I feel that his main historiographic contributions fall within these areas and that these three themes reflect the evolution of Walter's own work, as over time, he moved from a broadly cultural interest in contemporary views of change, to a more institutional perspective and finally to the critique of the sources themselves. Finally, I should add that Walter's thematic evolution as a scholar coincided with a shifting interest that moved from an early focus on the fourth and fifth centuries, to an intense focus on the seventh, although my own focus on Walter's scholarship on the seventh century is by no means to say that he ignored previous or later centuries; much of his work was extremely important for eighth- and ninth-century Byzantine history. But as he wrote in the preface to his 1982 Variorum volume, "My first book . . . had the fifth century as its focus, and my second book . . . contained a chapter on the fifth century, but most my specialized research has concentrated on other centuries."[4]

Walter's early work, like that of most scholars, focused on the continuation of his graduate studies, and particularly, publishing his dissertation. He published several articles on the emperor Julian, an interest, as he explained in his Variorum preface, dating to his undergraduate days, and several critical essays on the establishment and development of the theme system, which was to be one of his most important areas of scholarship. But Walter's first book, *Byzantium and the Decline of Rome* (1968), which explored a topic that did not become a significant element of his later scholarship, is nonetheless extremely important in his evolution as a scholar because it was his first extensive demonstration both of his methodological approach to historical problems and of the types of historical problems that he would continue to address throughout his career.[5]

Byzantium and the Decline of Rome focused on the reactions and perspectives of fifth- and early-sixth-century authors and groups of authors in the eastern Roman Empire about the "decline" of the Roman Empire in the fifth century. Although Walter's scholarly interests moved later, *Byzantium and the Decline of Rome* is a remarkable volume that illustrates several characteristics of his scholarship that remain consistent throughout his career. The first is Walter's clear-sighted and incisive problematic. Walter, in all his works, always sees the historiographic "big picture." In the case of *Byzantium and the Decline of Rome* the historiographic problem is twofold. Scholarship characterized fifth-century, eastern Romans as mostly passive observers of the "fall" of west, and that, consequently, Byzantine policy toward the west was, with the notable exception of Leo I's failed naval expeditions, indifferent or resigned to that "fall." At the same time, the remarkable longevity of peace on the eastern frontier with Sassanid Persia allowed the empire the leisure to focus on domestic issues: in the first half of the century on its "German" problem—a problem that Walter, Alan Cameron, H. Elton, G. Greatrex, and others helped demonstrate was far more a J. B. Bury problem than a Roman one—and in the second half on the escalating conflict over Monophysitism. So distracted, the consensus went, the eastern Romans had little interest in the west until Justinian, for causes either opportunistic or ideological (or both), suddenly pivoted Roman policy toward the west. The sources for this interpretation are extremely problematic since they are for the most part fragmentary and highly biased in their presentation of events and persons. In short, Walter's book was written at a time when late antique scholars found the eastern Romans had (until Justinian) largely accepted the loss of the west or at the very least, largely accepted their inability to restore Roman sovereignty there.

Walter's book challenged scholarship's consensus, convincingly demonstrating that not only did the eastern Romans take an interest in the western provinces of the empire, but that they actively sought to intervene in the west when their resources allowed it. More importantly, perhaps, Walter reviewed the limited and often incomplete contemporary authors in order to discover what contemporaries had to say about the condition and state of the empire. Not surprisingly, he learned that fifth- and early-sixth-century eastern Roman authors found the empire to be God-beloved, God-protected, and God's instrument for maintaining order in the world without the least awareness that 476 was a milestone that generations of schoolboys would learn to recite on history examinations. Even dissenting, late pagans like Zosimus, who argued that Christianity had undermined rather than reinforced Roman imperial power, refused to acknowledge decline as we understand it today. Defeat and loss was a simple problem of impiety, which, should the Romans come to their senses and go back to their ancestral religion, would be reversed through the return of divine favor.

Walter's first book, although to a certain extent an outlier in its subject matter, illustrates several characteristics of his scholarship that run through all his work. First, his research was exhaustive both in terms of scholarship and in terms of sources. As he explained, "Remember that history comes from the Greek root 'investigate, to research.'"[6] There did not exist a source that was so abridged, incomplete, or incoherent that Walter could not find its value. There did not exist an article, book, book review, or note that escaped his bibliographic grasp. Doubtless, it is my own limitations as a scholar, but as a student, I marveled how, in a world of paper and no search engines, Walter would survey each and every page of the *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* bibliographies and painstakingly copy each reference that *might* prove of use not only to himself, but to his students and colleagues as well.

Second, Walter's exhaustive analysis of the often incomplete fifth- and early sixth-century sources demonstrated a remarkable sensitivity to the perspective of his sources, and particularly to sources that previous scholarship had employed solely for chronology, dismissed, or simply ignored. Several reviewers of his work noted with varying degrees of commendation Walter's eye for the most critical and relevant passages in sources that had not previously been so assiduously mined. But above all, Walter was able to contextualize the sources' perspective in the chronology.

This last characteristic of his use of sources is the third significant element of Walter's genius as a scholar: quite simply, to consider the course of historical events as its own argument. Walter's revisionism was based on the evidence of chronological process and the consequent logic of causation, a form of historical argumentation that has increasingly gone out of favor as more and more of the theoretical apparatus from social science theory enters the field. Although Walter explained in his preface, "This is primarily a study of Byzantine political and intellectual responses or reactions," his notion of intellectual history was not in the least idealist. On the contrary, "intellectual responses" could not be understood without recognizing that they were constructed not from some reified late Roman imperial or Christian ideology (or theology), but were in fact responses to the chronological, causative structure in which they were embedded. Walter modestly added to his preface that his first chapter "present[s] and discuss[es] such data which indicate, to a greater degree than one usually has supposed, eastern interest and involvement in western affairs in the fifth century."[7] *Byzantium and the Decline of Rome* is thus unusual as a study of cultural discourse because he began with a survey of fifth-century actions taken by the eastern Romans rather than, as is often the case, a survey of the ideological schemata of Christian, Roman imperialism. For Walter, *quid est demonstrandum*, the chronology of events, revealed that the eastern Romans' responses clearly and incontrovertibly had been framed by significant efforts to affect the course of events in the west. Sources, including non-narrative ones, did not exist in a chronological vacuum, but invariably reflected the material conditions in which they were written. This firm grounding made Walter's scholarship both traditional and historicist—in the sense that understanding causation remained his primary aim—and formidable because in the end, the evidence of the historical events remains the basis of disciplinary evidence.

Byzantium and the Decline of Rome was a critical success and established Walter as one of the finest young scholars of his generation. But the two works that I believe defined the later course of his career were relatively short articles, "Some Reconsiderations on the Themes (Seventh-Ninth Centuries)" (1967) and "Initial Byzantine Reactions to the Arab Invasions" (1969).[8] The first article was Walter's grand entry into the extraordinarily complex scholarly conversation about the establishment and institutional nature of the "theme system" which has remained to this day a source of intense controversy. The second transformed seventh-century scholarship by, on the one hand, incorporating sources such as apocalyptic, anti-Jewish works, theological treatises, and sermons to provide a cultural portrait of a society that was redefining itself in the wake of catastrophic military defeat, and, on the other hand, by being one of the first articles to link seventh-century religious discourse to its contemporary political context.

I do not know whether Walter's interest in seventh-century Byzantines' reactions to decline was a continuation of his interest in fifth-century Byzantines' interest in decline. But however it came about, Walter's article "Initial Byzantine Reactions to the Arab Invasions" spawned a cottage industry in seventh-century cultural studies. The influence of this, or any work, is difficult to measure, but there is no doubt that it must be considered a seminal work that influenced many of the most prominent scholars of seventh-century Byzantium, certainly in English, such as J. Haldon, Av. Cameron, and L. Conrad.

Unlike previous discussions of Byzantine reactions to the Arab invasions, which had focused primarily on religious polemics, Walter proposed a simple observation that was intuitively persuasive, while dramatically shifting the historical perspective, "Obviously such a major historical event as he loss of Egypt, Palestine and Syria would greatly have impressed the Byzantines and would have caused them to ponder its significance."[9] For Walter, the primary question was not religious—how Byzantine Christians reacted to the rise of a competing religion—but sociopolitical—how imperial Romans reacted to catastrophic, military collapse. Walter's materialist perspective subsumed

Christian theology within the broader sphere of cultural discourse. In a sharp break with previous scholarship, he inextricably linked the two cultural spheres rather than separating them: Christian identity simply could not be distinguished from Roman identity, nor could Christian discourse be distinguished from imperial, Roman discourse; both were equally part of a broader, cultural construction. With this perspective, he was able to use "Christian" sources—like the Christmas sermon of the Patriarch Sophronius or the anti-Jewish dialogue, *Doctrine of Jacob the Newly Baptized*—that scholars had previously all but ignored or cubbyholed under the category "theology," to elucidate the cultural impact of the Romans' defeat. Walter treated "theological" rhetoric as a form of cultural discourse, influenced, I would suggest, by his reading of Hans-Georg Beck, who coined the term "political theology" to describe the cultural coincidence of the political and religious spheres in Byzantine culture.[10]

The problem of the cultural response to seventh-century, Byzantine collapse remained a dominant theme in all of his later work, particularly in his *quellenkritik* work that we will review shortly. Indeed, his analysis of the sources and his reassessment of chronology were done at least in part to elucidate further this cultural problem. The method of his later work therefore remained consistent with his first book, although his focus on the sources, given their far more problematic character, was of necessity far more extensive. Walter never abandoned his goal of understanding how the Byzantines culturally constructed their response to disaster, but added to this goal the historical and chronological apparatus necessary to fully analyze it.

I do not know how or when Walter became interested in institutional history, particularly the problem of the seventh-century themes, the military districts that replaced the late-antique provincial organization and that constitute the sharpest institutional discontinuity between the late-antique and medieval Roman Empires. But it had to be relatively soon after he arrived at the University of Chicago, since his article "Some Reconsiderations on the Themes (Seventh-Ninth Centuries)" appeared even before *Byzantium and the Decline of Rome*. It is a less radical departure from previous scholarship than *Byzantium and the Decline of Rome* and "Initial Byzantine Reactions to the Arab Invasions" since it follows in the wake of the work of P. Lemerle, J. Karyannopoulos, and A. Pertusi, who in the 1950s and early 1960s collectively refuted the thesis of G. Ostrogorsky that the themes were established by imperial fiat in 622 and that thematic soldiers received land to farm whence, Cincinnatus-like, they arrived from the fields when summoned to do battle against the Arabs and other enemies of the Byzantines. What Walter contributed to the conversation was that during the high tide of Arab conquest, approximately 64–18, the Byzantines' military responses were by and large *ad hoc* and ineffective, "The actual military efficiency of the themes—whatever the nature of the thematic soldiers—also deserves a critical reassessment."[11] Consistent with the method he employed in *Byzantium and the Fall of Rome*, he demonstrated, by the simple but effective method of chronologically surveying the themes' performance in the seventh century, that the themes were generally not only ineffective, but often disastrously so. He went on to argue that the survival of Byzantium during this time should not be attributed to the Byzantines' own institutional strengths, but to the limitations of the Arabs and Byzantium's other major opponent, the Bulgars; in effect, he shifted the perspective from Byzantine strengths to Arab and Bulgar weakness. For a Byzantine historian, this was a radical shift of perspective. And it was one that Walter would significantly address (and to a certain extent modify) in his book *Byzantium and the Early Islamic Conquests* (1992).

For the period after 690 when incontrovertible evidence for themes is extant, Walter proposed, on the one hand, that any direct ties between "soldiers' properties" and military service had to be reconsidered, and, on the other hand, that whatever the institutional arrangement of the themes, they remained politically problematic throughout the very late seventh and eighth centuries until as military organizations, they were supplanted by the tagmata, and their institutional organization could not be adequately analyzed without recognizing that the emperors wished not only for an effective military force, but also a loyal one. Any analysis of the themes, therefore, had to not only address the mechanics of manpower, logistics, and finances, but also link these institutional requirements to emperors' constant (and ever justified) concern for the throne's security as well as the frontiers.

"Some Reconsiderations on the Themes (Seventh–Ninth Centuries)" however raised more questions than it answered. Walter could join other scholars in rejecting and refuting G. Ostrogorsky's thesis, but if that were wrong, then what could be positively asserted about an institution that had been so thoroughly deconstructed? And if the themes were so ineffective, then what in fact were they and why did they remain an imperial, administrative feature for centuries? Throughout the 1970s, Walter published several articles that examined political and administrative characteristics of the themes and clarified individual historical problems of the themes. But again, Walter's work generated nearly as many questions as answers. In 1981, he provided several answers.

Byzantine Military Unrest 471–843: An Interpretation in its superficial, literary form is a dense survey that chronologically reviews its titular subject interspersed with analytical subchapters that address specific political and institutional problems raised in the narrative.[12] The narrative subchapters relate episodic series of late Roman and Byzantine military unrest, but focus on specific details that the episodes share rather than setting them in some broader grand narrative of late Roman and Byzantine history. Not infrequently, Walter addresses the numerous problems of chronology in periods where our sources are few and highly untrustworthy and focuses on the details of particular episodes so that the narrative is at times sidetracked by Walter's *quellenkritik*. A reader who desires a seamless, flowing narrative will be disappointed by the episodic narrative, Walter's often narrow focus on specific political and administrative details surrounding incidents of military unrest, and his digressions into the dull details of sorting out sources of varying reliability in order to establish a clear and convincing chronology. Additionally, the lengthy analytical subchapters which are often highly technical about administrative detail are dense and require more attention than a casual reader might care to invest. However, a reader who appreciates the technical difficulties of examining the complex and constantly evolving political and administrative problems of maintaining a powerful military that was not itself a threat to imperial stability from a welter of incomplete, often untrustworthy, and problematic sources will be astounded by Walter's erudition.

And well a reader should be, because in the case of *Byzantine Military Unrest*, the superficial form of the book is extremely misleading. As Walter explained:

> This work is not a narrative or chronological account of seditions, coups d'etat, and conspiracies, but rather it is an analysis of the growth, causes, and the variation in such unrest over the years. Of course the study of military unrest requires reference to a narrative events, because such incidents constituted the actual instances of open unrest. Analysis must examine something. . . . Other forms of institutional history may require little recourse to narrative events, but military unrest, especially in the absence of [reliable sources] cannot be studied satisfactorily without reference to events as a basis for analysis.[13]

Any serious reader will soon realize that the narrative, episodic and complex as it is, is its own argument—one reason why it is so dense—and no less analytical than the analytical subchapters. Here one sees the foundation of Walter's method: an exhaustive correlation of patterns across the widest possible range of incidents. Walter's analysis is always firmly grounded in the totality of events; he eschewed the common practice—especially in a field where the events themselves are often subject to doubt and a firm chronology of events is lacking—of nominating any single event or set of events as emblematic.

So although Walter described his book as "military history," and explained that "this is not an attempt to trace and to outline administrative hierarchies, numbers, finances, or the chronological evolution of specific military institutions," nonetheless, he also concedes (with characteristic understatement), "In addition to examining the specific topic of military unrest, this study may incidentally provide information about the actual working of the army which amplifies and occasionally modifies traditional views of Byzantine military organization."[14] In fact, Walter completely revamped much of Byzantine administrative history, and although a scholar has an undeniable right to categorize himself, I think it more accurate to describe *Byzantine Military Unrest* as a work of institutional history that focuses on military institutions including supporting logistical and financial institutions.

But, as Walter pointed out, *Byzantine Military Unrest* is a work on institutions as they functioned, not as they appeared on neat, organizational charts. In contrast to A. H. M. Jones's masterpiece *Later Roman Empire*, which relied primarily on inscriptions and laws to create such neat organization charts, Walter instead followed the direction in which H.-G. Beck, in his critical article "Byzantinisches Gefolgschaftswesen," which Walter called "remarkable" in the introduction of *Byzantine Military Unrest*, pointed.[15] Walter demonstrated that Byzantine military institutions, and by implication much of the rest of Byzantine governance, was in a constant state of flux in which emperors regularly had to redefine offices and apparatus that nominally remained the same, but radically shifted functions to meet continually shifting political circumstances. The one constant in the Byzantine administration was to prioritize maintaining control of the potentially wayward instruments of imperial policy, particularly the army, rather than as modern, Weberian bureaucracies, to prioritize efficiency.

Thus, Walter (with like-minded scholars such as R.-J. Lilie and J. Haldon) was at the forefront of a new approach to Byzantine, institutional history that saw institutions as dynamic rather than static, constantly being reinvented because they operated in a politically unstable environment where the extent and enforceability of imperial authority was continually renegotiated. This is not at all to say that there was no continuity at all; on the contrary, emperors had to adapt what they inherited from their predecessors. Walter thus answered the "question" of the themes by demonstrating that the assumption that the Byzantines at any time possessed a theme "system" was anachronistic or at the very least, problematic. On the contrary:

> The problem of military unrest is not intelligible simply from observing charts of military and political administration. At least as important was how military and administrative entities actually behaved and functioned. . . . Military unrest, of course, did have some relationship to the theme "system," but the systemic relationship is most evident when one observes the military units acting in a dynamic process. It is impossible to reduce the discussion of Byzantine theme revolts or abortive or successful coups d'etat to some all inclusive typological formulation.[16]

Walter presented a far more chaotic, unstable, and atomized world than that found in the pages of G. Ostrogorsky's *History of the Byzantine State* or A. H. M. Jones's *Later Roman Empire*. His method, so attentive to chronology, to verifying chronology, and to finding patterns in the chronology, ironically demonstrated from the chronological details that not only was Byzantine military unrest pervasive in Byzantine political life, but such unrest constantly took new forms that continually required the imperial government to shift and adapt its own operational patterns and institutional safeguards. In short, Walter was a most unusual institutional historian because he avoided offering any internal, bureaucratic evolutionary logic. Byzantine institutions, like Byzantine political discourse, were highly elastic frameworks within which emperors (and by implication sources) constructed and reconstructed idiosyncratic variations of offices (and rhetorical tropes) to address immediate political conditions and circumstances.

Perhaps it was Walter's awareness that material circumstances were far more important than cultural and administrative superstructures; perhaps it was Walter's experience with the problematic character of seventh-century Greek sources, but whatever his inspiration, I consider his next project his greatest achievement, not only as contribution to scholarship, but as a remarkable example of personal *Bildung*. In his late thirties and early forties, an established, well-respected, and productive scholar, Walter decided to reinvent himself. Mid-career, he learned Arabic and opened for himself and Byzantine scholarship a whole new world of sources and perspectives, and in 1992, he published *Byzantium and the Early Islamic Conquests*[17] followed in 2010 by *Muslim Expansion and Byzantine Collapse in North Africa*.[18] Few historians change history, but Walter, by acquiring a new linguistic apparatus, was able to change the history of the seventh century. He not only broke new ground by introducing into Byzantine scholarship an entirely new set of sources, but his thorough and critical use of those sources established (to the extent the problematic sources permitted) what is likely to be for quite some time, the chronology of one of world's most transformative historical periods.

The historical problems with which Walter grappled were simple: what actually happened during the 630s and 640s when the conquering Arabs swept through the Levant, Mesopotamia, and Egypt or during the more drawn out (and far less well documented) fall of north Africa? Walter had tersely observed, "Analysis must examine something," but in the case of the seventh century, the sources are so poor and the chronology so muddled (or blank) that a historian could analyze very little. As he explained:

> There will be readers who understandably may be uneasy or dissatisfied with the absence of absolute historical certainties for some of the historical events and processes under investigations. Frequently the historian of seventh-century events and conditions in any corner of the Byzantine Empire must cope with gaps in the sources. Resort to inferences and the weighing of probabilities understandably may irritate some readers. That is the burden of historians who investigate the seventh century.[19]

Walter's scholarship was hardly to discover *Geschichte wie es eigentlich gewesen ist*. On the contrary, as perhaps the world's foremost expert on the sources and their possibilities, he was more aware than most of their limits. His goal was to provide a chronology that was probable, but essential; he would create the narrative that would serve scholars as the grist for any historical mill. As Walter wrote tersely in his biography of Heraclius, history "necessarily investigates events."[20] But the methodological apparatus that he required for this imposing task was extremely complex for two reasons. First, Walter had to confront the abbreviated, highly edited, and extremely untrustworthy, ninth-century Greek narratives of Theophanes and Nicephorus, and the even more untrustworthy and limited Latin sources on which Byzantine scholarship had almost exclusively relied. Second, Walter had to sort out a whole new set of Arabic sources which not only told a different story than the Greeks, but had their own extensive *quellenkritik* problems. Additionally, in *Muslim Expansion*, Walter addressed the methodological issue of colonial and postcolonial perspectives in previous scholarship that had complicated the source problem by insufficiently—in differing ways—considered the multicultural problems associated with *quellenkritik* and the interaction of native as well as Roman and Arab actors.

His method for sorting out the chronology and actors was "an old-fashioned patient reading and rereading of the texts for neglected evidence" and "a critical reading of the evidence, with a conscious effort to evaluate credibility in terms of late Roman and early Byzantine facts."[21] Walter, a Byzantinist who had acquired an orientalist apparatus, was uniquely positioned to pursue this most basic, but absolutely essential, avenue of inquiry. Employing the most traditional of methods, Walter confronted the most ambitious historical problem: to discover what happened, and thus to transform history itself.

> This is a history of different realities and narratives, whether or not of a new reality. Older forced historiographical categories are no longer working. This is simultaneously a study of problems in Byzantine, Late Antique, North African or Mahgribi, and Early Islamic History. It cannot and does not fit simply into any binary polarization or into older conceptual categories of regionalizations. Yet investigation and historical exposition also encounter difficulty, for Byzantine, Late Antique, North African, and Early Islamic elements never became neatly fused or tightly integrated in the initiatives and responses of the seventh century.[22]

That Walter employed traditional tools to sort out not only chronology, but the cultural and ethnic dynamics that the chronology and the analysis of source revealed in a manner that was both deft and persuasive was no mean achievement.

But no less importantly, *Byzantium and the Early Islamic Conquests* and *Muslim Expansion and Byzantine Collapse in North Africa* are historiographic statements about the nature of historical inquiry. Walter consistently described himself as a military historian, but he did not mean by that a reciter of x's and o's on a battlefield like Edward Creasy or the phenomenology of the battlefield like John Keegan. For him, military history incorporated economic, social, and political institutions and processes, and especially so in an empire whose sole administrative function—and one that was almost unique for nearly a thousand years in Western civilization—was to maintain a standing military presence on a variety of fronts. Military history for Walter *was* imperial history because the Roman Empire was, in the final accounting, the material consequence of its military accomplishments and failures.

Nonetheless, Walter was very aware that his sort of materialist history was not altogether sympathetic to contemporary views of history. The turn from materialist causation to cultural consciousness, however insightful regarding mentality, was (and is) severely limited in its ability to understand *change* as Walter understood it since change was vested in shifting sociopolitical structures. As he explained:

> With respect to methodology, unlike historians of the late nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth, today's historians give less attention to institutions. There is another methodological problem, the neglect of military history and the military dimension in history. One cannot understand the Muslim conquest[s] . . . exclusively in terms of religious, social, and cultural experiences.[23]

This understanding of the historical dynamics of change, particularly political and social change, was one with which many historians disagreed, and Walter's books had to confront an audience that was in part unsympathetic:

> The historian of these events and processes also encounters another formidable contemporary hurdle. A substantial number of scholars reject the possibility—or are not interested in, or even believe that historians should not have much interest in—whether there were any military dimensions or military explanations, partial or otherwise, for the Byzantine loss[es] . . . . Such scholars have preconceived convictions or even prejudices that non-military causes and dimensions of seventh-century history are the only ones really worth studying, or understanding. They can conceive only of social, economic, religious, experiential or socio-cultural explanations and are unsympathetic to and sometimes even unforgiving of any inquiry into "narrow" military matters, let alone military events in their own right. [This methodological bias] represents a narrowness of vision that does injustice to the full spectrum of historical reality.[24]

For Walter, the formation of "social, economic, religious, experiential or socio-cultural" historical phenomena must necessarily be grounded in the material conditions in which they arise, and in the seventh century, that meant, as far as the Romans were concerned, catastrophic defeats on the battlefield.

The disastrous defeat of the Byzantines at Yarmuk and the subsequent loss of Syria, Palestine, Egypt, Mesopotamia, and significant portions of Armenia was not an ideological construction, but a cause and basis for ideological construction. Significantly, the penultimate chapter of *Byzantium and the Early Islamic Conquests* is an extended analysis that follows the general argument of "Initial Byzantine Reactions to the Arab Invasions" that the Arab invasions shaped Byzantine cultural discourse to a far greater extent than any internal, cultural (particularly Christian) logic. Christian dissidents pointed to Arab and Bulgar successes as demonstrations of God's wrath against the Heraclian dynasty for its perceived heresy and impiety; imperial apologists provided an apocalyptic framework in which the invasions could be made not only intelligible to a shocked and demoralized populace, but which could promise eventual imperial restoration. Additionally, the confirmation of both imperial and Christian legitimacy was vested in the continuing presence of the cross and eventually Christ on the coinage. In the end, the pessimism that many sources expressed was balanced by a rising tide of sources after the failed Arab siege of Constantinople and the sixth ecumenical council that "show[ed] the existence of a confidence in the empire and of a faith despite adversities."[25] Both doubters and believers asserted the value of their convictions not in abstract ideological or theological constructs, but in the cold, hard currency of victory and defeat.

Heraclius, Emperor of Byzantium partially overlaps *Byzantium and the Early Islamic Conquests* chronologically since the early Islamic conquests happened during the last decade of Heraclius's reign, and some of that material appears in its appropriate, temporal place. But *Heraclius* is primarily a biography, albeit one that is fully aware of the historiographic problems that beset a reign for which sources are poor, the nature and operation of the levers of government at best obscure, and any evidence of the personal character of its subject nonexistent. In short, despite Heraclius's critical importance as emperor during two pivotal, indeed, determinative, wars between Byzantium and first the Sassanids followed by the Arabs, there were good reasons why no scholar had undertaken his biography since 1905. Unsurprisingly, the poverty of the sources and the jumbled glimpses of the social, cultural, and political context of the time suited Walter's strengths and he set about organizing and sorting them.

Heraclius is Walter's most discursive book—it is the only one that does not have subchapters—and the most holistic in its approach to the subject. Walter weaves together Heraclius's military campaigns, domestic politics, religious policy, and cultural context in order to establish his actions and also discern what might have been his motivations and options. But even leaving aside the methodological problems of firmly establishing many of the basic facts of Heraclius's life and career, the book sets an even more fundamental methodological problem before the reader:

> Among the most interesting facets and issues for the historian interpreting Heraclius' life, reign, and age is evaluating the extent to which, in a time of rapid and major change, one man did or could affect or change history. His is a major case with which to text hypotheses about that problem; indeed most estimates of Heraclius and his historical significance must come to grips with it. This is not primarily an inquiry into institutional history or institutional questions. Instead it will investigate Heraclius' drift or mastery in the face of historical contingency and varied crises.[26]

For an institutional and materialist historian to confront the "individualist," historical problem was a significant challenge, but one that was logical for someone with Walter's methodological self-awareness. Walter, who had written numerous articles and books detailing Byzantium's institutions and their structuring force would now test—in a sense—the validity of many of his own previous assumptions.

Not surprisingly, Walter found that Heraclius was not a "great man," but merely a man who for the most part employed the tools which he found, even when those tools did not perform well. He was certainly more effective as a young man than as an old one; his victory over the Persians was hardly less shocking, given the situation he inherited, than his defeat by the Arabs. The Arabs might have been a more dangerous enemy, and the victory over the Persians was almost certainly Pyrrhic, although Heraclius could not have known that, but it is also possible that the rigors of his Persian campaigns might have left him worn. And whether it was a result of poor health, poor subordinates, misestimation of the Arab threat, or bad luck, Heraclius's campaign against the Arabs in 636 resulted in Byzantium's irremediable defeat at Yarmuk.

In the end, Walter concludes that one man can only do so much, and Heraclius did much of what he could do. His courage, persistence, and cunning had rallied the empire from its prostrated condition against the Persians when he seized it from his predecessor, but personal virtues only go so far, and Heraclius had no answer to the Arabs. In considering the question of individual causation that he raises, Walter suggests that however talented Heraclius might have been, he failed during the one brief window of opportunity between the Persian and Arab Wars to take the steps necessary to address the need for reforms: particularly economic and administrative reforms. Heraclius was no reformer, Walter concludes, and therein perhaps lay the difference between the "great" man and the merely talented.

Walter's books and articles greatly influenced the study of the seventh century, and there is no historian of the period who can enter the field without an awareness of his contribution. But Walter's prodigious scholarly production was only one aspect of his contribution to the academic profession. It is hardly surprising that America's premier scholar of Byzantine institutional history should have been one of the guiding spirits in the creation of the premier institution for Byzantine studies. Walter and Alice-Mary Talbot were the founders of the Byzantine Studies Conference (BSC)—now the Byzantine Studies Association of North America—the most important interdisciplinary venue for disciplines as diverse as ancient, Byzantine, medieval, Slavic, Armenian, Georgian, Syriac, Coptic, Arabic, Turkish, Renaissance, and early modern history, classics, early Christian and other correlative literatures, history of religions, paleography, papyrology, archeology, epigraphy, Orthodox (and occasionally Catholic) canon law and theology, Armenian, Syriac, Arabic, Coptic, Ethiopian, and Slavic studies, and doubtless other disciplinary fields and subfields that will occur to the reader. The BSC has been, since the time of its founding, the largest, most diverse, and arguably, the most important American conference not only in Byzantine history, but in every discipline that touches the Bosporus.

Walter and Alice-Mary desired to create a venue where all scholars in the field—academic faculty, graduate students, scholars without portfolio, and anyone interested in the broadest conceivable definition of Byzantine studies—could present and discuss their work in an atmosphere that was unusually, almost uniquely in my experience, egalitarian. They imagined a venue where scholars at every level within the academic hierarchy, those from the Ivies and those from regional state colleges, full professors, graduate students, and scholars unlucky enough to lack a university affiliation, could meet as equals engaged in inquiry. And to a surprising extent, they did. And one of the main reasons for this was Walter himself.

In 1979, as a second-year graduate student and first-time BSC attendee, I was exhilarated and intimidated to find myself at the University of Michigan, listening to presentations by scholars I had read in seminars. What I quickly discovered however was that many of great scholars (and not so great scholars) had little or no time to answer the questions of a lowly graduate student, let alone spend an hour over coffee or beer discussing their work or mine. They had bigger fish to fry. Conferences are not only about ideas, but about academic business: clientage and patronage, mutual arrangements, book deals, and the like. And to be fair, conferences are often a rare opportunity to see old friends from graduate school or years together at a research center. But while Walter attended to business, he was always welcoming and supportive of younger scholars. I marveled that Walter actually sought out younger scholars, often graduate students, and discussed their work with them as *equals*. He would exchange ideas and inevitably offer them reams of bibliographic references, both primary and secondary, from his encyclopedic store of knowledge. But although he inevitably possessed a superior historical and bibliographic apparatus than the younger scholars with whom he conversed, he always sought to learn from them rather than dispense wisdom from a lofty perch.

This remarkable egalitarianism on Walter's part was what made him both an inspiring and terrifying advisor. From the time I arrived at UC, Walter treated me as an equal *in potentia* and assumed without any hesitation or evidence that I would meet his expectations. I think that it might have been the only time that Walter made an assumption that lacked a firm foundation of supporting evidence. And his faith in students—not just me—motivated them to excel. Nevertheless, Walter's expectations were extremely high, and his comments on my papers did not mince words. And to be honest, however much I was inspired by Walter's egalitarianism, I think that I was as much or more motivated by his exacting standards of work; in fact, I must admit that I was periodically terrified.

Walter expected "competent" work: an adjective by which he meant work that met his standards, and as I came to learn, one of his highest compliments. When my work was "competent" he acknowledged it and suggested projects that were even more imposing than the last. Walter never stopped raising the bar. When it was less than competent, he provided detailed reasons why. But his critiques, however severe (and they could be quite severe), always *taught* me something about doing history. It was not simply that I missed that article or that this interpretation of a passage was flawed. I do not believe that I ever had a teacher provide me with so clear an instruction in *method*, not just those that he employed in his own work, but in every scholar that I read. And Walter made sure that I read as wide a variety of scholars as possible. He taught me that scholarship is a conversation, and that Karl Krumbacher was just as present at the table as the most recent scholarship; indeed, all scholars were inspired by other scholars, and it was essential to know the connections between them so that one would be sure to speak to the right one.

It is for this reason that this volume therefore is not simply to honor Walter's scholarship; Walter has received ample, professional accolades. It is also a volume to honor his teaching and his role in transforming students into scholars across a wide variety of fields. I hope that the chapters in this volume will not only be contributions to their respective fields, but also demonstrate how Walter's emphasis on method, historical and historiographic criticism, and close reading of evidence, the qualities that made his own scholarship so persuasive, could be communicated across both subdisciplinary and disciplinary boundaries.

Radical Traditionalism: The Influence of Walter Kaegi in Late Antique, Byzantine, and Medieval Studies is thus a collection of eleven chapters by prominent and significant scholars, which will certainly contribute to the general stream of scholarship in their disparate fields. But in addition, the contributors are all Walter's students, whose work will shed light on a side of academics that is rarely captured in print: the influence that a scholar has not only through publications, but through the personal influence of his teaching. Each of the chapters not only is an important contribution to scholarship in its own right, but will briefly explain how the scholarship on the page has its origin in Walter's teaching. Moreover, the breadth of scholars that Walter influenced makes this often overlooked aspect of scholarship all the more impressive since included in the volume are not only historians, but art historians, literary historians, and archeologists in geographic fields extending from Gaul to eastern Europe to Syria and temporal fields from the fourth century to the fourteenth, whose variety offers the reader an important insight into the ways in which scholarship and teaching in one field can have a profound and valuable influence on others.

This volume, unlike the vast majority of *festschriften*, seeks to look beyond the mere collection of chapters to examine something more systemic in the nature of scholarship: how one scholar, Walter Kaegi, can exert influence on scholarship in a wide variety of fields. The interdisciplinary collection of chapters thus has an important thematic link that gives them coherence not only as relating to the field of late antique and Byzantine scholarship, but as shared exemplars of the influence that a great scholar can have on his students, even when those students are in fields very different from his own. The interdisciplinarity of the volume is thus very different from other tribute volumes since the connection of students to their teacher gives this volume an internal coherence and unity.

The ten chapters in the collection are arranged according to the areas that this chapter has identified as the primary domains of Walter's work: *Quellenkritik*, political/institutional history, and political/cultural history.

The first group of chapters, *Quellenkritik*, addresses the primary method by which scholars identify and certify valuable information bound within opaquely edited and redacted sources. The contributions in this section include Robert Schick's chapter, "Jerusalem in the Roman and Byzantine Periods in Mujīr al-Dīn's Fifteenth-Century History of Jerusalem and Hebron"; Leonidas Pittos's contribution, "*Logos* and *Ergon* in the *Histories* of John VI Kantakouzenos"; and my own chapter, "Constans II's Odd Speech." In different ways, and on structurally distinct texts, these chapters illustrate how scholars deconstruct narratives using the tools of philology and can extract from layered sources valuable information by disassembling the layers.

The second part, "Political/Institutional," addresses the relationship between institutions and political activity, which in the premodern world was no less important, but far less clear than today. This group includes chapters by Nathan Leidholm, “Reimagining the Ties between the House of Nubel and the Donatist Church in Late Roman North Africa”; Charles W. King, “Attila, Honoria, and the Nature of Hunnic Rule”; and Christian Raffensperger, “The Optics of Byzantine Blinding in Medieval Eastern Europe.” These chapters examine a variety of institutional practices—familial, governmental, and ecclesiastical—the connections between them, and the operations, limits, and adaptations of these. As a group they raise issues of institutional actions, the effectiveness of those actions, and how those actions create chains of continuity over time.

The final part, “Political/Cultural,” examines the methods and forms by which power and authority were encoded in a variety of cultural forms. This section perhaps conveys more than any other the distinctive “Kaegi” method of interpreting cultural discourse—and particularly religious discourse—as grounded firmly in the immediate (and therefore specific) apologetic and polemical needs of an author or patron and not in an abstract cultural “ideology” or religious theology. Included in this group are Jeremy Thompson, “The Character of Hincmar of Reims in Four Ninth-Century Manuscripts”; Daniel Larison, “George of Pisidia and *Contra Severum*: Panegyric and Polemic as Sources for Interpreting Religious Policy”; Hisatsugu Kusabu, “Seminaries, Cults, and Militia in Byzantine Heresiologies: A Genealogy of the Labeling of ‘Paulicians’”; Galina Tirnanić, “Performing History at the Forum of Constantine”; and Alice Christ, “The Conversion of Sacrifice in Late Antique Art.” As a group, these chapters raise questions about the relationship between the political and cultural spheres, and particularly, how the religious sphere is thoroughly integrated into the broader secular and political culture, and not, as is often the case in premodern scholarship, how the sacred is distinct from the profane.

This collection of chapters thus presents to the reader a coherent methodological approach of a prominent and influential scholar demonstrated in the works of his students. While I do not wish to overstate the case, nor lay too great a weight on the methodological significance of the volume—it is after all a *Festschrift* and not a manifesto—nonetheless, I would suggest that the work might have more significance for scholarship than a collection of useful essays. Structuring the volume along methodological lines offers the reader an opportunity to see the application of a particular vision of interpreting the past spread across numerous disciplinary, geographic, and temporal fields.

The contributors of this volume thus gratefully and humbly offer it to Walter as a recognition of his importance in their education and development as scholars. I haven’t written anything for Walter in quite some time now. I sincerely hope that he finds this volume (and particularly this chapter) competent.

NOTES

1. http://cjh.uchicago.edu/issues/spring16/6.4.pdf.

2. *Speculum* 39 (1964): 96–108.

3. Walter employed three categories to organize his Variorum reprint volume: “Studies on Julian,” “The Crisis of the Fifth Century,” and “The Byzantine Army: Institutional Change and Continuity and Internal Strife.” Julian (and the Constantinian dynasty in general) remained an interest of Walter’s, particularly the military strategies they employed against the Persians that might have influenced Heraclius in his own war. Cf. “The Strategy of Heraclius,” *1985 Bilad al-Sham Proceedings* v. 1 (Amman, Irbid: al-Jami’ah al-Urduniyah, Jami’at al-Yarmuk, 1987), 104–15; and *Some Thoughts on Byzantine Military Strategy*, Ball State University Hellenic Studies Lecture (Brookline, MA: Hellenic College Press, 1983). Walter’s interest in the crisis of the fifth century later evolved into the crisis of the seventh century. And the institutional and political analysis of the army also included several articles that were primarily *quellenkritik* like “New Evidence on the Early Reign of Heraclius,” *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 66 (1973): 308–30; and “Two Notes on Heraclius,” *Revue des Etudes Byzantines* 37 (1979): 221–27. Thus, in what should be considered the summation of his early work published shortly after his second book, Walter had himself already recognized two of the three categories that I am using, and incorporated articles devoted to the third. His later books, by incorporating Arabic in his scholarly apparatus, give greater weight to the category of *quellenkritik* and justify, in my opinion, its use as a distinct category of his scholarship.

4. *Army, Society and Religion in Byzantium* (London: Variorum Reprints, 1982), i.

5. *Byzantium and the Decline of Rome* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1968).

6. http://cjh.uchicago.edu/issues/spring16/6.4.pdf.

7. *Byzantium and the Decline of Rome*, vii–viii.

8. “Some Reconsiderations on the Themes (Seventh–Ninth Centuries),” *Jahrbuch der Oesterreichischen Byzantinischen Gesellschaft* 16 (1967): 39–53 (reprinted in *Army, Society and Religion in Byzantium*); “Initial Byzantine Reactions to the Arab Conquest,” *Church History* 38 (1969): 139–49 (reprinted in *Army, Society and Religion in Byzantium*).

9. “Byzantine Reactions,” 139.

10. See Res publica romana. Vom Staatsdenken der Byzantiner, Sitzungsberichte der bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschatfen, phil.-hist. Abt., Munich, 1970: 5–11.

11. “Some Reconsiderations on the Themes (Seventh–Ninth Centuries),” 43.

12. *Byzantine Military Unrest 471–843: An Interpretation* (Amsterdam: Adolf M. Hakkert, 1981).

13. Ibid., 9.

14. Ibid., 8.

15. Ibid., 9–10.

16. Ibid., 315–16.

17. *Byzantium and the Early Islamic Conquests* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992).

18. *Muslim Expansion and Byzantine Collapse in North Africa* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

19. Ibid., 27.

20. *Heraclius, Emperor of Byzantium* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 14.

21. *Early Islamic Conquests*, 6, 22.

22. *Muslim Expansion*, 3.

23. Ibid., 7.

24. *Early Islamic Conquests*, 17.

25. Ibid., 229.

26. *Heraclius*, 17.

Part I

QUELLENKRITIK

Chapter 2

Jerusalem in the Roman and Byzantine Periods in Mujīr al-Dīn's Fifteenth-Century History of Jerusalem and Hebron

Robert Schick

INTRODUCTION

Walter Kaegi was my professor for the Byzantine studies courses that I took at the University of Chicago as a graduate student starting in 1979; he was also one of the advisors for my dissertation for my PhD, which I received from the Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations Department there in 1987. This chapter pays tribute to his linguistic facility with Arabic (uncommon among Byzantinists) and his rigor in utilizing all the sources available.

Mujīr al-Dīn al-'Ulaymī al-Ḥanbalī, the chief Islamic law court judge of Jerusalem at the end of the Mamluk period in the late fifteenth century, wrote an extensive history of the cities of Jerusalem and Hebron, entitled *al-Uns al-Jalīl bi-Tarīkh al-Quds wa-al-Khalīl*. That account covers the history of Jerusalem and to a lesser extent Hebron and other cities in Palestine, from the Creation up to Mujīr al-Dīn's own day. Also included is a brief coverage of Jerusalem between the Ascension of Jesus and the Muslim Conquest. After presenting some information about Mujīr al-Dīn and his *al-Uns al-Jalīl*, this chapter provides a translation of his account of the Roman and Byzantine periods and examines some of the characteristics of that account.

Mujīr al-Dīn al-'Ulaymī was born in Jerusalem in 860/1456. He was a Ḥanbalī judge first in al-Ramlah and then in Jerusalem, and he eventually became the chief Islamic Law Court judge in Jerusalem until just before his death in Jerusalem in 927/1520, four years after the Ottoman conquest.[1] In addition to his duties as judge, Mujīr al-Dīn was a prolific scholar whose best-known work is *al-Uns al-Jalīl bi-Tarīkh al-Quds wa-al-Khalīl*, his fundamentally important, lengthy history of Jerusalem and Hebron, variously translatable as *The Splendid Familiarity/the Sublimely Familiar Account/the Significant Ambiance/the Sublime Friendship about the History of Jerusalem and Hebron*, which he wrote between 900/1495 and 902/1496.

Al-Uns al-Jalīl first covers the history of the prophets from Adam up to the Prophet Muhammad and then the period from the Muslim Conquest up to the end of the Crusades. The second part identifies the Islamic monuments in Jerusalem before turning to the history and monuments of Hebron and briefly some other cities in Palestine. The third part presents the biographies of the rulers of Jerusalem and the judges and scholars of the four Sunni legal traditions in Ayyubid and Mamluk times. The book ends with a study of the reign of Sultan Qaitbay, the sultan in Mujīr al-Dīn's day, up to 900/1494–1495.

Only portions of *al-Uns al-Jalīl* have ever been translated. The section about the Islamic buildings in Jerusalem were translated into English by George Williams in 1849,[2] while Henry Sauvaire published an abridged French translation of less than a quarter of the total in 1876, which includes part of the portion translated here.[3] In a series of articles I have also translated about 5 percent of the total, including the parts about King David, Jesus, and the Umayyads and Abbasids.[4]

The most commonly cited edition of *al-Uns al-Jalīl* was published in 1968 and reprinted in Amman, Jordan, in 1973.[5] That edition was arbitrarily divided into two volumes in a way that has become the standard for citing pagination. An index was produced in 1988.[6] A new edition of *al-Uns al-Jalīl* was published in Amman in 1999,[7] based on a different manuscript than the earlier editions. Unfortunately, the 1999 edition does not record the pagination of the 1973 edition. There are substantial differences between the two editions, demonstrating that a critical edition still needs to be produced. For the short passage translated here,[8] however, the 1973 and 1999 editions are virtually identical.

The portion translated here begins after the Ascension of Jesus (the end of the portion I translated in my article about Jesus) and is followed by the life of the Prophet Muhammad, the virtues of Jerusalem, and an extensive section on ʻUmar ibn al-Khattab and the surrender of Jerusalem, which is not examined in this chapter. The pagination of the 1973 edition is marked in the translation.

THE TRANSLATION

(168) The Second Destruction of Bayt al-Maqdis and the Destruction of the Jews and the End of Their State, to Which There Is No Return Afterwards

When what was explained before about the ascension of the Messiah to Heaven happened, Bayt al-Maqdis remained inhabited for forty years. And a group of kings ruled over the Children of Israel, one after (169) the other until Titus the Roman ruled. The place of his rule was the city of Rome in the country of the Franks. In the first year of his rule he headed to Bayt al-Maqdis and fought the Jews, killed them and imprisoned them to the last one, except for those who hid. He destroyed Bayt al-Maqdis, sacked it and burned the Temple and their books and emptied al-Quds of the Children of Israel [Q. 10:24] "as if it had not flourished the day before" and neither command nor rule returned to them after that.

That was about forty years after the Ascension of the Messiah, as was mentioned before, and 376 years from the victory of Alexander[9] and 811 years from the start of the reign of Bakht al-Nasr.[10] This is the time that God, the Exalted, mentioned: He said [Q. 17:7, 104], "And then a promise of the End came from your corruptions" and that intention of theirs to kill Jesus, upon him be peace, when he ascended and their killing John, upon him be peace, and then God empowered the Persians and the Romans and Khardush[11] and Titus over them until they killed them, took them captive and expelled them from their homes. This is His, the Exalted, saying [Q. 17:7–8]: "to disfigure your faces"—by introducing concern, grief and sorrow—"and to enter the masjid like they entered it the first time and they were broken with a great breaking. Perhaps your lord will have mercy on you." After his revenge on you, fortune will return to you, and if you return to disobedience, we will return to punishment.

Qatādah said: "Then they returned, and God sent Muhammad, may God bless him and grant him peace, then they gave the *jizyah* on a hand, being humbled [Q. 9:29].

Between this second destruction and the hijrah was approximately 558 years. Then 900 years passed from the noble hijrah to our day. The time that passed from the second destruction of Bayt al-Maqdis to the end of year 900 of the noble hijrah is approximately 1,458 years. It is the history of the dispersion of the Jews in the countries and God, Praised and Exalted, knows best.

(170) The Building of Noble Bayt al-Maqdis the Third Time

When what was mentioned about the destruction of Bayt al-Maqdis by Titus and what he did to the Jews happened, it became populated again little by little and its disorder was repaired, and it continued to be inhabited until Helena, the mother of Constantine the victorious, came to Jerusalem when her son Constantine was the king in Rome (*Rūmīyah*). Then he moved from it to Constantinople and built its walls and was victorious. Its name was *al-Bizanṭīyah*, and he named it Constantinople.

The Christians claimed that after six years of his reign had passed, the form of a cross appeared to him in the sky and then he ordered Christianity.

Before that he and those who preceded him were of the Sabian religion who worshipped idols in the names of the seven planets.

And when twenty years of the rule of the aforementioned Constantine passed, 2,840 bishops met, and he selected 318 bishops of them, and they banned Arius the Alexandrian because he said that the Messiah was created. And the aforementioned bishops agreed in the presence of Constantine and established the Christian laws, after there had not been any. The head of these patriarchs was the patriarch of Alexandria and from here was the origin of Christianity among the Romans (*Rūm*).

Before that in the eleventh year of his rule his mother Helena, previously mentioned, came to al-Quds in search of the wood of the Messiah on which the Christians claim that ʻIsa, peace be upon him, was crucified. And when she arrived in al-Quds, she brought out the wood of the cross, established the Feast of the Cross and built the Church of the Dung Heap on the grave in which the Christians claim Jesus was buried. And she built the place across from the Dung Church known today as the *darkāh*, and the church of Bethlehem and the church on the Mount of Olives at the place of the Ascension of our Lord ʻIsa, upon him be peace, and the church of Gethsemane in which is the tomb of Mary, upon her be peace, and others. And she demolished the temple of Bayt al-Maqdis to the ground, which was in the *masjid*. And she ordered the dung of the city and its garbage to be dumped in its place. So the place of the Noble Rock became a garbage dump.

(171) And the situation remained thus until ʻUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb, may God be pleased with him, came and conquered noble Bayt al-Maqdis according to what we will mention concerning the ʻUmari conquest, if God, the Exalted, wills.

Al-Musharrif said from Kaʻb,[12] who said, The height of the Dome of the Rock of Bayt al-Maqdis in the sky was twelve miles, and the people of Jericho and ʻAmwās were shaded by its shade. On it was a ruby that shown by night like the light of the sun and when it was daytime God extinguished its light. It continued like that until the Romans came and conquered it.

And when it fell into their hands they said, “Come, let us build upon it something better than the building that was on it.” So they built upon it to its full height in the sky and they decorated it with gold and silver. When they finished the construction 70,000 of their monks and deacons entered it with gold and silver incense burners in their hands and they associated[13] in it, and it collapsed upon them, and not one of them came out.

When the king of the Romans saw that, he gathered the patriarchs and deacons and the heads of the Romans and said to them, “What do you think?” They said, “We see that we did not please our God, and so he did not accept its construction.”

"He said, And he ordered it a second time, and they built it and doubled in it the expenses, and 70,000 entered it like they entered it the first time. And they did like their [previous] action and when they associated, it collapsed upon them and the king was not with them.

And when he saw that, he gathered them a third time and said to them, "What do you think?" They said, "We have not pleased our Lord as is necessary, and so it was destroyed, and we want to build a third time."

And they built a third time until they saw that they had done it right and they finished it. He gathered the Christians and said, "Do you see anything as a blemish?" And they said, "No." They crowned it with a cross of gold and silver. Then a group entered it after they had washed and perfumed, and when they entered they associated like their colleagues had associated, and it collapsed on them a third time. Their king gathered them a fourth time and asked them for advice, and their discussion about that increased.

While they were doing that, an old man came to them. He had a black hooded cloak on and a black turban, and his back was bent supported on a cane, and he said, "O community of the Christians, listen to me. I am the oldest one of you in years (172) and I have come out of my place of worship to inform you that this place has cursed its owners and that al-Quds has moved." He turned to that place and he pointed out the place in which they built the Church of the Resurrection.[14] "And I will show you the place, and you will not see me after this day ever. Accept from me what I say to you." He led them astray and increased their oppression and he ordered them to pull out the Rock and to build with its stones the place that he ordered them.

And while he was speaking to them and was saying that to them, he disappeared, and they did not see him and they increased in unbelief and they said a great saying about him. Then they destroyed Bayt al-Maqdis and carried the columns and other things and built with them their church, the church that is in the Jahannum Valley.

And he said to them, "You have finished this. So finish it and take it as a garbage dump for your dung," and they did that until the menstruating woman threw the rag of her menstruation down onto it from Constantinople. And they threw down on that until God sent Muhammad, may God bless him and grant him peace, and took him by night to it and mentioned its virtue."[15]

The author of *Muthīr al-Ghurām* told that and said, "It came before that Bakht Naṣr is the one who destroyed the construction of Solomon," and this is what al-Musharrif narrated from Ka'b al-Aḥbār, claiming that it was the Romans who destroyed the construction of Solomon and conquered it. But this is not correct unless we make the previous king of the Persians its builder after the destruction of Bakht Naṣr who built the place on the pattern of the building of Solomon, upon him be peace, and God, Praised and Exalted, knows best.

OTHER MENTIONS OF THE ROMANS AND BYZANTINES

Mujīr al-Dīn uses the name *Rūm* to identify the Romans and Byzantines.[16] Outside of the lengthy account of the surrender of the city to the Caliph ʻUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb, which is not covered in this chapter, Mujīr al-Dīn mentions the *Rūm* only a few times elsewhere in *Uns al-Jalīl*, mostly in connection with buildings that they constructed. In his extensive presentation of the significant buildings in Jerusalem and elsewhere in Palestine, Mujīr al-Dīn briefly mentions the Church of the Holy Sepulchre (*Qumāmah*) and other churches and monasteries in and around the city,[17] and mentions that the Church of the Ascension, the Tomb of Mary, and the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem were built by Helena, the mother of Constantine.[18] He also attributes to the *Rūm* the rock-cut Hasmonean-Herodian funerary monument near the Tomb of Mary said to be the tomb of Zakariah and also known as Pharaoh's Conical Cap; the monument said to be the tomb of John the Baptist and also known as the Kuffiyah of Pharoah's Wife was nearby.[19] Some old olives trees in the east area of the al-Aqsa Mosque compound between the upper Dome of the Rock platform and the east enclosure wall dated back to the period of the *Rūm*,[20] as did the Zāwīyah al-Khunthunīyah sufi lodge, immediately to the south of the al-Aqsa Mosque building, where the extant remains date to the Ayyubid period.[21] The Zāwīyah of Shaykh Yaʻqūb al-ʻAjamī near the Citadel in the west part of Jerusalem's Old City was originally a church built by the *Rūm*.[22]

In Hebron the *Rūm* built a church in the Tomb of Abraham, which the Muslims later destroyed[23]; the graves of the Patriarchs were identified by an ancient Greek inscription still preserved in Mujīr al-Dīn's day in the shrine where the head of Adam was kept.[24] Another part of the Tomb of Abraham within the Solomonic walls went back to the *Rūm*.[25] A church in Lod was also built by the *Rūm*.[26]

Mujīr al-Dīn, however, does not identify anything associated with the *Rūm* in other cities in Palestine such as Ascalon, Gaza, Jericho, or Nablus.[27]

SOURCES

Mujīr al-Dīn wrote in the late fifteenth century, around a thousand years after the events of the first to seventh centuries, and cites as his sources for the Roman-Byzantine portion of his history two primary sources from the first Islamic centuries: Qatādah ibn Diʻāma (c. 680–c. 735), an authority in historical traditions[28]; and Kaʻb al-Aḥbār (died c. 652), a Jew who converted to Islam, perhaps in 638 during the Caliphate of ʻUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb, and who became the earliest authority on Jewish-Islamic traditions.[29] Mujīr al-Dīn also cites two compilers of reports about the Merits of Jerusalem: Al-Musharrif from Ka'b and the author of *Muthīr al-Gharām*.

Al-Musharrif, who derived his report from Ka'b al-Aḥbār, is Abū al-Ma'ālī al-Musharrif ibn al-Murajjā ibn Ibrahīm al-Maqdisī, a scholar of *ḥadīth* who lived in Jerusalem and who wrote his book entitled *Faḍā'il al-Bayt al-Maqdis wa-al-Khalīl wa-Faḍā'il al-Shām*, on the Merits of Jerusalem, Hebron, and Syria in the 430s/1030s–1040s.[30] His book is one of the two surviving books about the Merits of Jerusalem that predate the Crusades.

The author of *Muthīr al-Gharām* refers to the book on the Merits of Jerusalem and Syria, *Muthīr al-Gharām ilá Ziyārat al-Quds wa-al-Shām*, written in 1351 by Shihāb al-Dīn Abū Maḥmūd ibn Tamīn al-Maqdisī, a long-term resident of Jerusalem, if not a native.[31] Al-Maqdisī copied his information from earlier compilations of the Merits of Jerusalem and included the story about the threefold building failure and the mysterious old man, citing al-Musharrif.[32] Al-Maqdisī's book was also copied freely by Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad Shams al-Dīn al-Suyūtī, who came to Jerusalem in 1470–1471 and wrote there his *Ittiḥāf al-Akhṣā bi-Faḍā'il al-Masjid al-Aqṣá*, another of the major compilations of reports about the Merits of Jerusalem,[33] which includes the story about the threefold building failure and the mysterious old man.

COMMENTARY

Mujīr al-Dīn, resident in Jerusalem for most of his life, was in an unrivaled position to bring his own local knowledge to bear in his coverage of the history of Jerusalem and Hebron. But it is remarkable how little in this account reflects any special local knowledge on his part. The portion translated here could have been written just as well by anyone living anywhere who had access to the Merits of Jerusalem literature.

Mujīr al-Dīn mentions the Roman destruction of the Jewish Temple by Titus, but not other major historical events connected with Jerusalem, such as the Bar Kokhba revolt from 132 to 135 AD in the time of the Emperor Hadrian and his foundation of the city as Aelia Capitolina or the Sasanian Persian capture of the city and massacre of the population in 614 and the Byzantine recovery under the Emperor Heraclius and his return of the True Cross. Mujīr al-Dīn is aware of the name *Iyliyā* for Jerusalem, but not that the name derives from Aelia Capitolina, the name given by the Emperor Hadrian.[34]

The mysterious figure Khardūs associated with Titus, who Mujīr al-Dīn also mentioned elsewhere,[35] was a king from the East whom God sent to avenge the boiling blood of John the Baptist after he was killed; Khardūs killed 70,000 until the blood of John the Baptist became quiet. Mujīr al-Dīn distinguished Khardūs from Hardūs—Herod Antipas, who had John the Baptist beheaded.[36]

Mujīr al-Dīn's coverage of the Roman and Byzantine period says nothing about the verse in the Quran (30:1–5): "the Rūm have been defeated in the nearer part of the land, but after their defeat they will be victorious within a few years," nor does he say anything about the story of the Quranic People of the Cave (18:9–26).

Mujīr al-Dīn also says nothing about Saint George, although he does mention two churches in Lod, one with many endowments and the other built by the *Rūm* and now a mosque,[37] without identifying the latter as the Crusader Church of Saint George. That church was partially demolished by Salāḥ al-Dīn in 1191, but remained in use by Greeks, until it was rebuilt in 1870; the mosque is first attested in the early fifteenth century.[38]

Mujīr al-Dīn's omission is remarkable, considering that for part of his career, he was the Islamic law court judge in nearby al-Ramlah. He would have become aware of how well-endowed the first church was through years of dealing as judge with the legal ramifications of those endowments. He could easily have found out about the identification of the church ruins where the mosque was as that of the Church of Saint George, had he been more than superficially interested in things Christian. Al-Tha'labī, who died in 427/1035, is one Muslim author who wrote an extended story about Saint George: he identified him as from Palestine, but did not bring up any connection specifically with Lod.[39]

Mujīr al-Dīn's coverage of general Byzantine history focuses on the time of Constantine and nothing else. Other Arab historians cover the Roman and Byzantine periods more extensively. The historian al-Ṭabarī, for example, was aware of the Sasanian capture of the city in 614,[40] and he included a discussion of the Quranic verse (30:1–5) about the *Rūm* having been defeated.[41]

Al-Ya'qūbī, who wrote his world history in the late ninth century, gave detailed coverage of the kings of the *Rūm*, including the capture of Jerusalem by both Titus and Hadrian, and the kings of the Christianized *Rūm*.[42]

Ibn al-Athīr, who wrote his world history in 1231, provides another example of an historian who gave detailed coverage of the kings of the *Rūm*, the kings of the Christianized *Rūm*, and the kings of the *Rūm* after the Hijrah.[43] He includes the capture of Jerusalem by both Titus and Hadrian and he also wrote that the *Rūm* and Greeks in Jerusalem constructed a temple to Venus that was built high. Much of the high part was destroyed, but it remained visible in his own day in 603/1206–1207, and he personally saw how well built it was.[44]

So, if Mujīr al-Dīn had wanted to, he could have included information about other historical events of the Roman and Byzantine periods derived from Arabic sources.

As is the case throughout *al-Uns al-Jalīl*, Mujīr al-Dīn had no interest in what Christian authors wrote about the history of Jerusalem. As one example, at the same time that Mujīr al-Dīn was writing *al-Uns al-Jalīl*, Francesco Suriano, a Franciscan resident in Jerusalem in 1481–1484 and 1493–1515, was writing his own *Treatise on the Holy Land*.[45] Suriano wrote his first draft in 1485, a second draft in 1514, and the final version in 1524.[46] Given Mujīr al-Dīn's position as Islamic Law Court judge, who would have had legal cases concerning the Franciscans come before his court, they must have known about each other, but there is no hint in either book that they would have recognized each other as colleagues with a shared interest in the history of Jerusalem.

The one exception to Mujīr al-Dīn's account showing no local knowledge of Jerusalem is his reference to the Zāwīyat al-Darkāh.[47] Mujīr al-Dīn identified it as having been built by Helena, the mother of Constantine, who also built the Church of the Dung Heap. This Zāwīyat al-Darkāh (a *zāwīyah* is a sufi lodge, while *darkāh* or *dargāh* is the Persian word for a tomb shrine), with a partially demolished minaret, was in the area of the Bīmāristān al-Ṣalāḥī, the hospital of the Ayyubid Sultan Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, where the hospital of the Order of Knights of the Hospital of Saint John of Jerusalem had been in the Crusader period. It was where the rulers of Jerusalem lived and had been endowed by al-Malik al-Muẓaffar Shihāb al-Dīn Ghāzī, the son of Sultan al-Malik al-ʻĀdil Abū Bakr ibn Ayyūb, the ruler of Mayāfāriqīn in 613/1216–1217. No trace of the Zāwīyat al-Darkāh survived the demolition of the ruins in the area for the construction of the Lutheran Church of the Redeemer in 1893–1898 and the adjacent Market of the Patriarch Eftimios in 1900, beyond fragments of an Ayyubid dedicatory inscription from the early thirteenth century.[48]

But the most outstanding characteristic of Mujīr al-Dīn's coverage of the Roman and Byzantine periods is his decision to include the story about the threefold failed attempt to build on the Rock in Jerusalem and the mysterious old man, which he copied verbatim from early authors, a story that takes up close to half of his total coverage. That story is not even remotely believable as an account of actual historical events, but it does serve the theological purpose of providing an explanation as to how the Rock in Jerusalem could not be desecrated by a building constructed by those who associated other gods with God, but nonetheless had become defiled, leaving it for the Caliph ʻUmar to uncover once again.

The inclusion of such legendary stories is found throughout *al-Uns al-Jalīl* prior to Mujīr al-Dīn's coverage of the Ayyubid and Mamluk periods, where his unparalleled presentation of factual information about the Islamic monuments of Jerusalem and elsewhere in Palestine and his biographies of Jerusalem's rulers, judges, and Islamic scholars has attracted greater interest by modern-day scholars of Jerusalem.

NOTES

1. Heribert Busse, Mudjīr al-Dīn al-ʻUlaymī, *Encyclopedia of Islam*, 2nd edn, 7: 294–95; Donald Little, "Mujīr al-Dīn al-ʻUlaymī's Vision of Jerusalem in the Ninth/Fifteenth Century," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 115 (1995): 237–47. The introduction to my article about the Umayyads and Abbasids (see footnote 4) includes further information about Mujīr al-Dīn that I have chosen not to publish again here. But see also two recent articles published in Arabic in *al-Muntadā* (the journal of the Arab Thought Forum in Amman): Hind Abū al-Shaʻr, "Bayt al-Maqdis fī al-ʻAhd al-Mamlūkī al-Muta'akhkhir. Qirāʻah Jadīdah fī Kitāb al-Uns al-Jalīl bi-Tarīkh al-Quds wa-al-Khalīl," *al-Muntadā* no. 245 (September–December 2009): 27–44; and Muḥammad Hāshim Ghūshah, "Mujīr al-Dīn ʻAbd al-Raḥmān al-ʻUmarī al-ʻUlaymī al-Ḥanbalī. Ḥayātuhu wa-Aʻmāluhu 860–927 H./1456–1520 M," *al-Muntadā* no. 245 (September–December 2009): 45–58.

2. George Williams, *The Holy City. Historical, Topographical, and Antiquarian Notices of Jerusalem* (2nd edn, with supplement: *Historical and Descriptive Memoir Illustrative of the Ordnance Survey*) (London: John W. Parker, 1849), vol. 1, appendix 2, 143–64.

3. Henry Sauvaire, trans., *Histoire de Jérusalem et d'Hébron* (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1876). Available online at www.worldcat.org. The portion translated here is on pp. 33–36.

4. Robert Schick, "The Life of Jesus in Mujīr al-Dīn's 15th-Century History of Jerusalem," *Journal of the Henry Martyn Institute* 24 (2005): 89–111; idem, "The Umayyads and Abbasids in Mujīr al-Dīn's 15th-Century History of Jerusalem," in *The Lineaments of Islam: Studies in Honor of Fred McGraw Donner*, edited by Paul Cobb, 209–32 (Leiden: Brill, 2012); idem, "King David in Mujīr al-Dīn's Fifteenth-Century History of Jerusalem," in *Material Culture Matters: Essays on the Archaeology of the Southern Levant in Honor of Seymour Gitin*, edited by John Spencer, Robert Mullins, and Aaron Brody, 265–80 (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2014); see also idem, "Geographical Terminology in Mujir al-Din's History of Jerusalem," in *Geographical Dimensions of Islamic Jerusalem*, edited by Khalid El-Awaisi (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2008), 91–105; idem, "Al-Ramla in the Writings of Mujir al-Din al-ʻUlaymi al-Hanbali," in *Ramla: The Development of a Town from the Early Islamic to Ottoman Periods*, edited by Shimon Gibson and Fanny Vitto, 30–32 (Jerusalem: Israel Antiquities Authority, 1999).

5. Mujīr al-Dīn al-ʻUlaymī, *Al-Uns al-Jalīl bi Tarīkh al-Quds wa-al-Khalīl* (Najaf: al-Maktabah al-Ḥaydarīyah, 1968; and Amman: Maktabat al-Muḥtasib, 1973), with numerous reprints.

6. Isḥaq Mūsá al-Ḥusaynī and Ḥasan al-Silwādī, *Fahāris Kitāb al-Uns al-Jalīl bi-Tarīkh al-Quds wa-al-Khalīl li-Mujīr al-Dīn al-Ḥanbalī* (Jerusalem: Dār al-Ṭifl al-ʻArabī, 1988).

7. Mujīr al-Dīn al-ʻUlaymī, *al-Uns al-Jalīl bi Tarīkh al-Quds wa-al-Khalīl* (Amman: Maktabat Dandis, 1999).

8. *al-Uns al-Jalīl bi Tarīkh al-Quds wa-al-Khalīl*, 1973 edition vol. 1: 168–72; and 1999 edition vol. 1: 278–83.

9. Alexander reigned from 336 to 323 BC.

10. Nebuchadnezzar II reigned from c. 605 to c. 562 BC.

11. A mysterious king from the East also mentioned in 1973 vol. 1: 159; 1999 vol. 1: 268.

12. The start of the passage copied from al-Musharrif 1995: 38–39; 2002: 45–48. see footnote 30.

13. That is, they associated other gods with God.

14. In this case the name given in the 1973 edition is *Qiyāmah* (Resurrection), while in the 1999 edition (vol. 1: 282) the usual Islamic name *Qumāmah* (Dung Heap) is used.

15. The end of the passage copied from al-Musharrif.

16. See *Encyclopedia of Islam*, 2nd edn, 8: 601–606.

17. 1973: 2: 51; 1999: 2: 104.

18. 1973: 2: 61, 62, 65–66; 1999: 2: 118, 119, 124.

19. 1973: 2: 62; 1999: 2: 119.

20. 1973: 2: 22; 1999: 2: 62.

21. 1973: 2: 34; 1999: 2: 77.

22. 1973: 2: 47; 1999: 2: 99.

23. 1973: 1: 43; 1999: 1: 122.

24. 1973: 1: 43–44; 1999: 1: 123.

25. 1973: 1: 60; 1999: 1: 144.

26. 1973: 2: 71; 1999: 2: 132.

27. 1973: 2: 73–75; 1999: 2: 135–37.

28. Charles Pellat, Ḳatāda B. Di‘āma. *Encyclopedia of Islam*, 2nd edn, 4: 748.

29. M. Schmitz, Ka‘b al-Aḥbār, *Encyclopedia of Islam*, 2nd edn, 4: 316–17.

30. Abū al-Ma‘ālī al-Musharraf ibn al-Murajjā, *Faḍā’il al-Bayt al-Maqdis wa-al-Khalīl wa-Faḍā’il al-Shām*, ed. Ofer Livne-Kafri (Shfaram: Dār al-Mashriq, 1995); idem, ed. Ayman Nasr al-Din al-Azhari (Beirut: Dar al-Kutub, 2002).

31. Shihāb al-Dīn Abū Maḥmūd ibn Tamīn al-Maqdisī, *Muthīr al-Gharām ilá Ziyārat al-Quds wa-al-Shām*, ed. Aḥmad al-Khuṭaymī (Beirut: Dār al-Jīl, 1994).

32. Ibid., 151–53.

33. Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn ‘Alī ibn ‘Abd al-Khāliq al-Manhājī Shams al-Dīn al-Suyūtī, *Ittiḥāf al-Akhṣā bi-Faḍā’il al-Masjid al-Aqṣá*, ed. Aḥmad Ramaḍān Aḥmad (Cairo: al-Hay’ah al-Miṣrīyah al-‘Āmmah lil-Kitāb, 1982–1984); Al-Suyuti, *The History of the Temple of Jerusalem*, trans. James Reynolds (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2013; reprint of 1836 edition).

34. 1973: 1: 6; 1999: 1: 69.

35. 1973: 1: 159: 1999: 1: 268.

36. Ibid.

37. 1973: 2: 71; 1999: 2: 132.

38. Denys Pringle, *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem: A Corpus. Volume II L–Z (excluding Tyre)* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 9–27. Pringle says nothing about the other, well-endowed churches.

39. Heribert Busse, *Islamische Erzählungen von Propheten und Gottesmämmer. Qiṣaṣ al-anbiyā’ oder ‘Arā’is al-maǧālis von Abū Isḥaq Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm aṯ-Ṯa‘labī* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2006), 542–50.

40. Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-Rusul wa-al-Mulūk*, ed. M. J. de Goeje (Leiden: Brill, 1881–1882), I: 1002; idem, *The History of al-Tabari, Volume V: The Sāsānids, the Byzantines, the Lakmids, and Yemen*, trans. C. E. Bosworth (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1999), 318.

41. Al-Tabari, *Tārīkh*, I: 1005–1007; idem, *History, Volume V*, 324–27.

42. Al-Ya‘qūbī, *Tārīkh al-Ya‘qūbī* (Beirut: Dār Bayrūt, 1970), vol. 1: 146–57.

43. Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil fī al-Tārīkh* (Beirut: Dār Ṣādir, 1982), vol. 1: 322–39.

44. Ibid., 326.

45. Francesco Suriano, *Treatise on the Holy Land*, trans. Theophilus Bellorini and Eugene Hoade. Stadium Biblicum Franciscanum Collection Maior 8 (Jerusalem: Franciscan Printing Press, 1949).

46. Ibid., 11–16.

47. 1973: 2: 47; 1999: 2: 99.

48. Max van Berchem, *Matériaux pour un Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum. Deuxième Partie—Syrie du Sud. Tome premier—Jérusalem “ville”* (Cairo: Institut français de archéologie orientale, 1922), 177–85, no. 58, 49.

Chapter 3

Logos and *Ergon* in the *Histories* of John VI Kantakouzenos[*]

Leonidas Pittos

Modern scholarship has long noted John Kantakouzenos's reliance on Thoukydides as a model for his *Histories*.[1] In particular commentators have noted Kantakouzenos's regular use of speeches in his account of contemporary events in which he was a participant, much like his ancient mentor. In a similar vein, Herbert Hunger has noted that speeches comprise more than half of Kantakouzenos's text.[2] Reading them as a technique of self-aggrandizement, however, obscures both the varied modalities of his reliance on his ancient model and his conception of historical process and causality. What does the relationship between political deliberation and narrative action reveal about how the fourteenth-century ex-emperor accounted for the motives and forces that drove the Byzantines to two civil wars in a span of three decades? How does he appropriate and rework the Thoukydidean pattern of interrelated *logos* and *ergon* to explain the vicissitudes of his own times? This chapter proposes to examine the relationship between intention and historical action in Kantakouzenos's history of his own time.

SOLDIER, STATESMAN, AND SCHOLAR

John VI Kantakouzenos is unique among Byzantine emperors in having composed a history of his own rise and reign. The particulars of his controversial reign are well known. Belonging to the landed aristocracy and rising through the ranks of imperial service during the latter years of the reign of Andronikos II (1282–1328), he came to prominence during the turbulent years of the 1320s, playing a central role in the political developments of the civil war of 1321–1328 as a confidante of the rising Andronikos III (1328–1341), and serving as *Megas Domestikos*, or commander-in-chief of Byzantine land forces, from 1328 to 1341. After the death of Andronikos III in 1341, Kantakouzenos fought a bitter civil war against the forces loyal to the Palaiologos dynasty in a bid to claim the throne as the hand-picked successor of Andronikos III. He emerged victorious in 1347, when he entered Constantinople in triumph and formally assumed the imperial office. Yet, rather than stripping the young John V Palaiologos of his imperial dignity and thereby unseating the Palaiologoi, Kantakouzenos entered into a marriage alliance with the reigning dynasty by marrying his daughter Helena to John V. This act of clemency, however, proved to be a source of further instability and the cause of John VI's final downfall. In 1353, John VI had his eldest son, Matthew, acclaimed emperor in a bid to secure a Kantakouzenist succession. Amid renewed internecine fighting and the intervention of Serbian and Ottoman forces, John V entered Constantinople in late 1354 and forced the abdication of his father-in-law, who, according to his own account, espoused monasticism of his own will and took the name Ioasaph. Despite this, John-Ioasaph remained a presence in the imperial palace, acting in an advisory capacity as an elder statesman until his death in 1383.

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[*] It is with great pleasure that I present this chapter on the *Histories* of John VI Kantakouzenos in honor of Walter E. Kaegi. I will be forever grateful for Dr. Kaegi's role as an advisor, mentor, and advocate in my training as a scholar and intellectual development. My first seminar paper at the University of Chicago under his supervision initially was to be on Kantakouzenos's *Histories*. In the end, I wrote an essay on two of Kantakouzenos's theological tracts instead. The present chapter, then, is the paper I was to write originally for him. I would like to thank Christian Raffensperger and David Olster for their comments and suggestions.

Less well known is Kantakouzenos's postimperial career as a monk and author. John's curriculum vitae includes his *Histories* as well as numerous theological treatises treating the major religious questions of his day: the controversy over the teachings of St. Gregory Palamas,[3] the question of church union,[4] relations between Orthodox Christianity and Islam,[5] and relations between Orthodox Christianity and Judaism.[6] John's theological output aimed at confronting the major challengers to Byzantine Christianity. By the 1360s, opposition to the triumph of Palamite teaching led prominent Byzantines intellectuals into the fold of the Western Church. These confessional defections struck close to home for Kantakouzenos. In 1354 Kantakouzenos's *Mesazon* Demetrios Kydones, the translator of Aquinas's *Summa Theologiae* into Greek, converted to Latin Christianity, and in 1369 his son-in-law and reigning emperor, John V, followed the same path. Similarly, the success of the various Turkish emirates in wresting Anatolia from the empire and later the victories of the Ottoman Turks in the Balkans led countless Christians to embrace the faith of their conquerors, or, like the *Khiones* encountered in 1354 by Gregory Palamas in Bursa, to adapt to the changing circumstances by embracing various forms of Christian-Muslim or Judaic-Muslim syncretism.[7]

Kantakouzenos completed his *Histories* the late 1360s, at the moment when the declining empire was reduced to vassalage to the rising Ottoman Turks.[8] At multiple points in his *Histories*, Kantakouzenos notes the decline of the Romans and their failure to live up to their ancestral glory.[9] It was only through the heroic efforts of men like Andronikos III Palaiologos—the hero of Books One and Two—that the empire's fortunes could be restored, but with the demise of such men, the empire was thrown into civil war.[10] In the past, writes Kantakouzenos, life was characterized by stability and an admirable resistance to change, whereas in his own time men were unstable and constantly in motion, like the alternating currents of the Euripos strait.[11] His literary oeuvre was part of a Byzantine intellectual engagement with and explanation of decline.[12] In his works, John sought either to explain the causes of the empire's political-military decline or to shore up the metaphysical-psychological breaches created by decline. In his fictitious correspondence with the Metropolitan of Thessalonike, Neilos Kabasilas, Kantakouzenos characterizes the history of his times as an account of virtue and vice, of the many unexpected fluctuations of events—events such as were never experienced by previous emperors—and of the mental vicissitudes of volatile personalities; or, how human vice and accidental circumstance overpowered virtue and prudential thinking, leading to misfortunes and ruining a once-powerful empire.[13]

THOUKYDIDES AND KANTAKOUZENOS'S *HISTORIES*

Modern scholarship has noted and documented multiple examples of Kantakouzenos's reliance on Thoukydides in style, rhetoric, and form. Nonetheless, John was no slave to his model. The emperor's dependence on the Athenian general in his description of the outbreak of bubonic plague in 1347, for example, exhibits evidence of both intertextual appropriation and selective modification and variation.[14] As Timothy Miller has demonstrated, Kantakouzenos reworks Thoukydides' passage on the plague in a way that does not compromise the authenticity of the description.[15] Similar comments might be made on Kantakouzenos's treatment of *stasis*. At 3.82, John reworks Thoukydides' text in a way that adapts it to fourteenth-century events without sacrificing historical accuracy, while at the same allowing his readers to detect the reference.[16] Yet Kantakouzenos's relationship to his ancient mentor is not exhausted in enumerating intertextual links. There are a number of important thematic links as well. A comparison of Thoukydides' and Kantakouzenos's treatment of *stasis* will serve to draw out both Thoukydides' influence on the emperor's thinking and how Kantakouzenos was prompted by Thoukydides' text to consider the events of his own lifetime.

For Thoukydides, *stasis* tears into the social fabric and thereby damages the moral, social, and even linguistic order that typically sets limits on human action. With the social fabric disrupted, men organize into factions and begin to pursue their own interest in conflict with other factions. The social cohesion of the *polis* breaks down completely. The self-aggrandizement of individuals and factions, notes Josiah Ober, contributes to the additional disintegration of the social order and to the breakdown of civilization itself. Further, for Thoukydides, socially destructive behavior in the fifth-century Greek *poleis* was "guided by a fatally weak inductive knowledge of the complex of factors that were conducive to their actual interests."[17] Thus, the factions and *demagogoi* that plagued the political life of fifth-century Greek *poleis* are condemned to pursuing their interests without full knowledge of all variables, resulting in inconsistent results and a disparity between what appears to be rational calculation and actual, historical result. Thoukydides' diagnosis is that what appears at first to be rational deliberation and decision-making in the end is revealed to be irrational on account of imperfect knowledge, with calamitous results.

Thoukydides adopts a medical approach, listing the social diseases that afflicted the Greek cities: "And many disastrous things afflicted (*epepese*) the cities of Greece through *stasis*."[18] A number of commentators have noted the technical, medical use of *epipiptein*, signaling Thoukydides' socio-psychological diagnosis.[19] "In self-justification," writes the Athenian general, "men inverted the usual verbal evaluations of actions."[20] There follows in Thoukydides' text the famous catalogue of inversions:

> Irrational recklessness was now considered courageous commitment, hesitation while looking to the future was high-styled cowardice, moderation was a cover for lack of manhood, and circumspection meant inaction, while senseless anger now helped to define a true man, and deliberation for security was a specious excuse for dereliction. The man of violent temper was always credible, anyone opposing him was suspect. The intriguer who succeeded was intelligent, anyone who detected a plot was still more clever, but a man who made provisions to avoid both alternatives was undermining his party and letting the opposition terrorize him. Quite simply, one was praised for outracing everyone else to commit a crime—and for encouraging a crime by someone who had never before considered one.[21]

To this list, Thoukydides adds, perhaps, his most famous maxim: "War . . . is a violent teacher." As for Thoukydides' second famous maxim on human nature, he asserts that human nature, as the one constant in human affairs, ensures that the violence caused by the socio-psychological pathologies he cites will always occur and differ only in degree according to their circumstance.

In a similar fashion in Kantakouzenos's account of his own time, social disintegration gives rise to extremism and social violence, and the pursuit of self-interest is likewise undermined by the limits of knowledge and faulty calculations. In Thessalonike, the social fabric frays. The Zealot faction rises up against the *aristoi* overthrowing the social order. As social unrest spreads throughout the whole *Rhomaikon*, theft and destruction abound under the pretext of fighting "Kantakouzenism." War, notes Kantakouzenos, becomes a teacher of things that were not previously contemplated. Words lost their meaning. As rebellions spread across Thrace and Macedonia:

> Irrational impulse was considered to be courage, unfeeling and lack of sympathy towards family was thought to be loyalty to the Emperor. The man angry with Kantakouzenos the Emperor and hurling nasty and harsh insults at him, seemed to be loyal, while the man who controlled himself and his tongue and who maintained a fitting disposition was considered suspect. Similarly, plotting and making up lies and slander had the appearance of prudence. Betraying close family members was pursued with pride.[22]

Here is Kantkouzenos's own catalogue of inversions. During the civil war, the inversion of categories and abuse of language spread like a terrible and evil disease among the Romans.[23] The similarity with Thoukydides' discussion of the degeneration of language during *stasis* is clear enough.[24] The emperor's diagnosis of this social pathology corresponded with that of his ancient mentor as well. The social fabric of Byzantium was coming apart and undermined the moral and social order that normally constrained the base actions of men. All of which leads the historian-emperor to remark: "War, in undermining normal inhibition, is a violent teacher of acts that previously seemed unthinkable."[25] This is a close paraphrase of Thoukydides. Kantakouzenos's maxim on human nature, however, has a thrust different than the Athenian general's. Ever inclining toward injustice, the passions of human nature become unrestricted with the overthrow of the *archontes*. With the hierarchical social order dissolved, there was nothing to keep human passion in check.

FURTHER THOUKYDIDEAN PARALLELS

Kantakouzenos prefaces his history with a brief methodological prologue contained in his faux correspondence with Neilos Kabasilas. Kantakouzenos, like Thoukydides who aimed at *akribeia*, claims to give a truthful account of the political, military, and social events that transpired in his own day.[26] He writes to Neilos that he will give preference to the truth above the partiality created by antipathy or affection.[27] Like Thoukydides, he distances himself from the methodology of his predecessors, who relied on hearsay and second-hand information. He writes as a participant in the historical events he recounts.[28] Most of his account, he maintains, is based on first-hand experience of private discussions, secret deliberations, public orations as well as primary source material, and so is less dependent on the testimony of informants.[29] What is implied is that, unlike Thoukydides, most of his speeches do not report what he thought was said or what he thought ought to have been said, but rather what was actually said. Indeed, much of the *Histories* is taken up by what Kantakouzenos himself said, or at least what he wants us to believe he said. Whether or not we should take every word Kantakouzenos puts into his own mouth as a transcript of his speeches and deliberations is, at the very least, debatable. Most of the deliberations he recounts occurred decades prior to the drafting of the *Histories*. While not entirely exercises in *ethopoieia*, we should expect minimally that his own words received a stylistic overhaul, or *metaphrasis*, as he translated the deliberations as remembered into an atticizing register. Hunger speculates that the volume of information that Kantakouzenos presents can be explained by a journal which the emperor kept during his career and later consulted during the drafting of his *Histories*.[30] This conjectural notebook might explain John's provision of details such as indiction cycles, dates, military manpower, and casualty counts. This is information, however, that was readily available to anyone with the leisure and liberty to peruse the imperial archives. It is beyond doubt that John also had access to official documents, correspondences, reports, rescripts, transcripts of official meetings, and well-placed informants, and that he could and did consult these. He includes many of these documents in his history. Most famously, he includes a letter from the Mamluk Sultan al-Nāṣir Hasan (1347–1351, 1354–1361) dated to 1349.[31] This makes the *Histories* an important source on the diplomatic and military history of Late Byzantium. In his epilogue, John describes his distinctive methodology and even names two of his sources. He reassures Neilos and his reader and urges them not to be surprised at the account he gave even of his enemies' deliberations. Upon his victory in 1347, many supporters of his enemies defected and informed him of his opponents' thinking and calculations. Two of these were John and Nikephoros, the brothers of Alexios Apokaukos. Kantakouzenos's method, of course, is beyond the scope of the historian's craft. Surprised by his clemency and the magnanimity he showed toward them, Kantakouzenos's erstwhile enemies came to trust him, opening up to their former adversary in order to reveal the details of their plotting and intrigue. Indeed, we might even see the confession of conspirators to their former adversary as a therapeutic technique of sorts. John's purpose, however, is both to strengthen the credibility of his account and to showcase once more his merits as a wise and virtuous ruler.

The polyphony of Kantakouzenos's *Histories*, however, raises serious questions of reliability. He gives voice to a wide array of figures, from prominent statesmen and military commanders to Athonite abbots, imperial women, and barbarian leaders. As Athanasios Angelou has noted, in the *Histories* "everybody speaks."[32] Despite Kantakouzenos's presence at many of the orations and conversations he recounted, we must take seriously the inventive *topoi* of *ethopoieia* in his reconstruction of the various discourses, especially in relation to enemies whose speeches often serve as indirect invectives—damned by their own words, as it were.[33] There are, thus, a number of set pieces that can be considered pure *ethopoieiai*, especially the speeches attributed to Kantakouzenos's enemies. Here, the emperor-historian is influenced as much by rhetorical character *topoi* as by what the named figures actually said. Orhan's speech to his troops, for example,[34] relies heavily on the tradition of Byzantine military rhetoric. The first two-thirds of Orhan's speech is a stock *meletē*, or rhetorical exercise, on the bravery and discipline of the Roman army,[35] while in his last section Orhan argues "from the result" (*ek tou ekbēsomenou*), a *topos* taken from the handbooks of military rhetoric.[36] Savvas Kyriakidis's assessment of this speech, moreover, seems likely: that the speech is an implicit criticism of Andronikos II's failure to resist Ottoman expansion.[37] It, thus, seems clear that Kantakouzenos is engaging, after all, in exactly what Thoukydides described as making "speakers say what was called for in each situation."[38]

LOGOS AND *ERGON* IN THOUKYDIDES AND KANTAKOUZENOS

In his groundbreaking dissertation on Thoukydides completed in 1957, Adam Milman Parry proposed a dialectical correspondence between *logos* and *ergon* operating throughout Thoukydides' *Histories*. In Parry's reading, Thoukydides' methodological statement at 1.22 divides the whole work into two categories of historical experience: *logos* and *ergon*. *Logos* is what the various historical agents said and thought before and during the war, while *ergon* is what actually happened during the war, the actions of history.[39] Further, *logos*, for Parry, refers not only to the speeches. Rather, it refers more broadly to all forms of speech and thought. It is represented in the text with a number of synonyms and closely allied terms such as *gnōmē* (thought) and *dianoia* (intention, purpose), which are of a similar connotation. *Ergon*, by contrast, stands for the deeds of history (*pepragmena*), the preparations for action (*paraskeuē*), as well as the potential to act (*dynamis*). Finally, it is not that Parry finds *logos* and *ergon* literally juxtaposed consistently throughout the *Histories* (although he does find forty-four such instances). Instead, the *logos* and *ergon* antithesis affords a conceptual topography onto which a number of related terms map, and thus provides a native conceptual framework for interpreting the *Histories*. The antithesis of *logos* and *ergon* and their allied terms, argues Parry, signify for Thoukydides the contrast between intellectual/internal and the physical/external aspects of history.[40]

Similarly, with Kantakouzenos *logos* and its cognates signify the plans and intentions of the various historical agents and of Kantakouzenos most importantly. In the emperor's *Histories*, individual speeches are described as *logoi*, but *logoi* are also the arguments, claims, and even rumors that shape a man's perceptions and decisions. *Gnōmē* is closely related to *logos* denoting an opinion, a position, or a stance in a debate. *Logos* is also the rationale of action, and *logismos* (reason, calculation) is a man's inward deliberation, a term with a connotation close to *boulē* (counsel, deliberation) and its cognates. For Kantakouzenos, *erga* are *logoi* that are brought to actuality as the realization of plans and intentions.[41] *Erga* are also individual deeds, such as sinful deeds or manly deeds, but they are also military activities, such as the maneuvers of an enemy force. Straddling the two categories of historical experience is *pragma* (action, affair). In reference to the state, *pragmata* denotes the public affairs of the Romans. In reference to deliberation and planning, *pragma* refers to a question under consideration, while in relation to historical action, finally, *pragma* refers to an action itself, the result of *praxis*, or even an historical process. Unlike Thoukydides, Kantakouzenos does not provide a neat conceptual map of his historical account in a concise methodological statement, as Parry argues Thoukydides did. Nonetheless, the emperor does follow a similar conceptual map, separating the internal from the external actions of history. As we shall see below, the contrast between the two is an essential aspect of John's *apologia*. Following Parry, in what follows *logos* and *ergon* will refer to actual uses of the terms by Kantakouzenos, as well as to the broader antithesis between the two categories of historical experience.

IMPERIAL *APOLOGIA*

According to Parry, Thoukydides' *Histories* are *logos* that gives an account of *erga* that were themselves once *logoi*. These latter *logoi* are themselves human attempts "to conceive and explain reality."[42] In a similar fashion, Kantakouzenos's *Histories* are the emperor's attempt to reveal the *logoi* of the *erga* of his own rise and reign. The *Histories* are an *apologia* of his works and days as *Megas Domestikos* and emperor, and the intensity of the *apologia* is due to the fact that he presided over a significant portion of the empire's decline. But it is a Thoukydidean *apologia*. The interaction between foresight, chance, and human passion and the disparity between intention-calculation and result in Kantakouzenos's account evoke Thoukydidean themes, and at the same time function to contrast Kantakouzenos's best efforts with what actually transpired. It is at least on account of the wide gap between noble motive and unanticipated result that Kantakouzenos wants his readers to give him the most credit. Thus, for example, despite presenting himself as a Palaiologan legitimist, in the *Histories* he is involved in three efforts either to unseat a Palaiologos emperor or to otherwise undermine the Palaiologan succession.[43] The tension here is in and of itself unresolvable. John asks us to believe that the outcome is the result of the convolutions of unforeseeable circumstance rather than personal, political ambition. But as the narrative of historical developments show, the stakes were much higher than dynastic legitimacy and the damage done to the empire by this disparity was much greater than the deposition of a legitimate imperial house by a usurper.

The specific charge against Kantakouzenos, both in his own time and in later eras, has been that he mishandled the *koina pragmata* (public affairs) of the Romans for the sake of usurping the imperial office. What the Byzantines expected of an emperor (and, thus, what a usurper needed to demonstrate in order to gain recognition as a legitimate ruler) was to defend and preserve the state, to manage the public affairs successfully in the name of people, and to act as a unifying figure.[44] Imperial governance must be of benefit to the commonwealth (*lysitelein koinēi*). These expectations represent a consensus from which emperors derive their legitimacy. Indeed, Kantakouzenos is acclaimed emperor by his troops in Didymoteichon in 1342 precisely in order to manage Roman public affairs effectively.[45] By his own word, however, Kantakouzenos continually finds himself forced to pursue policies that ultimately contribute to the *dystychia*, or misfortune, of the empire. Thus, rather than defending himself on the basis of outcomes, his *apologia* focuses on the disparity between his intention/judgment (*logos*) and the negative outcomes (*erga*) brought about by the course of circumstance.[46] His goal is always "to be of benefit to the commonwealth" (*lysitelein koinēi*) and his intention is "for the salvation and benefit of the Empire,"[47] but there is a great distance between intentional *lysiteleia* (benefit), which Kantakouzenos always champions, and the actual *dystychia* (misfortune), which befalls the Romans.

Kantakouzenos does his best to show that his proposals, advice, and decisions were made with a consistent *synesis* (sagacity) and *euboulia* (prudence). The reader is left to judge the quality of how Kantakouzenos pursued what was *lysiteles* (advantageous) for the empire, showed *epieikeia* (clemency) towards his enemies, and abnegated his own interests all with *synesis* and *euboulia* against the inexorable convulsions of circumstance.[48] Rather than a self-justification, the *Histories* are a public confession of failure, albeit a qualified one.

In the following sections, we will explore three apologetic strategies inspired by Thoukydides by which Kantakouzenos sought to evaluate and defend his deeds: the disparity between *logoi* and *erga*, the role of *phthonos* (malice) in the empire's calamities, and the complex relationships between divine *pronoia* (providence), *anagkē* (necessaity), and *tychē* (fortune) in the unfolding of history.

DISPARATE *LOGOI* AND *ERGA*

The relationship between Thoukydides and Kantakouzenos is not exhausted by intertextual links. Intertextual connections suggest a broader relationship, one that informs Kantakouzenos's historical hermeneutic and his apologetic strategy. One significant parallel in this connection is the disparity between the intentions of the historical actors and the actual events of history. The factual distance between *logos* and *ergon*, when the outcome of events is contrary to intention or expectation, is key to the historical-interpretive methods of both authors. A number of scholars, most notably Adam Milman Parry and Hans-Peter Stahl, have argued that the opposition between planning, intention, and expectation, on the one hand, and outcome and reality, on the other, pervades all of Thoukydides' *Histories*.[49] It is in the contrast between *logoi* and *erga* that the limits of human mind and will are made most clear. When *logoi* and *erga* diverge, the human mind no longer has control over events and men are rendered tragic figures. The many reversals of fortune are the unanticipated results of the courses of action taken by historical agents. In the *Histories* of both Thoukydides and Kantakouzenos, *logoi* are articulated in the orations recounted (or invented) by authors, while *erga* are recounted in the narratives. *Logoi* complement *erga*, and through the factual distance between the two, Thoukydides forces the reader to compare plan with implementation and intention with the actual course of events.[50] With Kantakouzenos, however, the distance between *logoi* and *erga* represent the core of his *apologia*, by which he demonstrates the consistency of his intentions and the fickleness and volatility of circumstance.

Kantakouzenos, like Thoukydides, implicitly forces us to contrast intention in deliberation with what actually happens in the historical-narrative process. With Thoukydides, the disparity between the two, argues Morrison, engages the reader and makes him a participant in historical analysis.[51] With Kantakouzenos, his reader sits in judgment of the author and is presented with the emperor's plans and intentions framed in a way aimed at eliciting a favorable judgment. The sheer volume of speaking that the emperor does throughout the *Histories* puts Kantakouzenos's own thought process on trial and serves to underscore the intentional and conceptual distance between Kantakouzenos's *logoi* and the empire's misfortunes. In the *Histories*—particularly in the years of the second civil war—Kantakouzenos is a man caught in the press between irrational forces. The machinations of his enemies and the unforeseeable swings of circumstance force him to make decisions that severely limit his range of action and that are at odds with his genuine intentions. John is forced to march against Constantinople, to claim the throne, and to ask for aid from foreign powers whose forces ravage the countryside, and all this despite his desire to preserve the legitimate dynasty in power and uphold the rights of the young John V; despite being "a tower" erected to guard the empress and her son.[52]

In the end, Kantakouzenos's defense is the neutralization of his own will by the course of events. Decisions made by opponents determine the countermeasures of the *Histories*' protagonists (Andronikos III and John VI). Chance occurrences, like the plague of 1347 or the earthquake of 1354, frustrate the efforts of even the most sagacious statesmen. Allies pursuing self-interest force the Romans to act against their own interest. Political enemies constantly suffer from delusion, which limits their perspective and leads to recklessness. There is little that can be characterized as proactive in Kantakouzenos's actions, in particular during the Civil War of 1341–1347 and his reign. Instead, he can only react to the course of events.[53] The emperor is constantly up against factors he cannot control. Kantakouzenos is impeded consistently from pursuing his long-term plans for the empire. This is, perhaps, the obverse side of the disparity between *logoi* and *erga*. To plan inadequately and to be frustrated or fail is pitiful, but not surprising given the human condition. To face dilemma, to plan adequately, to fail because of factors beyond your control, and to see that clearly in the end is tragic, and Kantakouzenos repeatedly finds himself the subject of such tragedies. As Marincola points out vis-à-vis Thoukydides, "[M]en plan to the best of their ability, but the result is rarely what they would wish."[54] The fear of this fate is perhaps the best explanation of Kantakouzenos's infamous indecision.

LOGOS AND *PHTHONOS*

Among the chief causes of the civil wars, according to Kantakouzenos, is *phthonos*. In the *Histories*, *phthonos* ravages the once prosperous Roman Empire, reducing it to internecine conflict and foreign domination. *Phthonos* replaces Thoukydides' *phobos* (fear) as one of the chief *aitia* of the war.[55] Whereas in Thoukydides' account the Lakedaimonian fear of growing

Athenian power causes the Peloponnesian War, in Kantakouzenos's account malice and slander cause his enemies to go to war. Bitten by envy of John's good repute, they are inflamed by passion and rage and are bent on ruining him in order to take control of the empire.[56] What is more, they are envious and malevolent betrayers of the commonwealth motivated by an unjust and envious mind (*adikōi gnōmēi kai ponerai*) and who are bent on depriving the empire of recovery.[57] In this way they bring calamity upon the Romans. Kantakouzenos's diagnosis is that his opponents are wounded by a "most abominable and evil passion" that impedes correct and prudent thinking (*orthoi kai sōphrones logismoi*).[58] The passions of civil war have caused firmness of thought (*stereōtēs logismōn*) to flee from men.[59] *Phthonos* is an irrational passion that clouds judgment and rots the mind, hurting the malicious as much as it does the maligned.[60] It subordinates practical reason to passion, transforming the sufferer into a slave to depravity and malice.[61] It does not bode well for the empire, when the affairs of state are committed to the whims of malicious figures after Kantakouzenos's escape from Constantinople in 1341. It is the imbalance of reason and passion that bring ruin to the empire.

More than a replacement for *phobos*, in Kantakouzenos's assessment *phthonos* is a force that overpowers *logos* in particular as it relates to what is beneficial (*lysiteles*) for the empire. Kantakouzenos's intention, as reflected in his deliberations, is always the empire's salvation and benefit.[62] Through their machinations and ill-will, his enemies bring about war. *Phthonos* is locked in a dialectical opposition to Kantakouzenos's *logos*. The emperor's intention is diametrically opposed to the delusional intentions of the sociopaths (i.e., Alexios Apokaukos and John Kalekas as Kantakouzenos presents them) who irrationally wish his destruction and who in the process wreck the empire. "May envy perish," Kantakouzenos writes to the *Sebastokrator* John Angelos (1328–1348), "as it is of all things the worst and most unjust."[63] At the same time, Kantakouzenos operates in a manner opposed to *phthonos*—indeed, to a fault. The reader is to note the generosity and clemency Kantakouzenos shows to his opponents (except, perhaps, for the verbal acerbity he reserves for Apokaukos and Kalekas), and he consistently fails to take a firm stand toward those who once were set on hurting him. In this he reveals a certain lack of judgment. This display of charity, in the *Histories* certainly, was not uncalculated. It is part of his *apologia*. If he failed, at least he did while avoiding *phthonos*. Thus, while his enemies' intentions and calculations are characterized by the imbalance between reason and passion, John's own mistakes are characterized by a rather more praiseworthy imbalance between reason and benevolence.

PRONOIA, ANAGKĒ, AND *TYCHĒ*

Phthonos is not the only obstacle to the imperial *logos*. A central motif in the *Histories* is the constant intrusion of unanticipated changes of circumstance in the unfolding of events. The predictions and calculations of virtuous and vicious alike are subject to the sundry accidents of historical circumstance. Kantakouzenos describes the vicissitudes of circumstance as *paradoxa* (incredible), *allokota* (unusual), and *para logon* (beyond calculation),[64] and in doing so recognizes an incalculable, irrational element operating throughout the *erga* of history. These changes of circumstance coerce man's will. History is not entirely driven by the will of men, but largely by the necessity of circumstance.[65] Kantakouzenos recognizes *anagkē* as the greatest constraint on the statesman's will and action. As Kazhdan points out, for John *anagkē* is a key determining factor in the actions of the *Histories*' heroes.[66]

At a deeper level, John does see a *logos* that guides the course of history, but it is a spiritual one. He attributes ultimately the decline of the empire to a corrupting demon that "violently and wildly" attacks "Roman prosperity"—a demonic malevolence (*baskania daimonos*) which God providentially allows to act against the Romans on account of their many sins.[67] Kantakouzenos acknowledges the operation of divine *pronoia* and demonic *baskania* in history, in particular as it relates to the declining welfare of the empire. Demonic *baskania* works unto the ruin of man in cooperation with human malevolence, and does not allow the pestilent (*phthoroi*) and slanderers to rest.[68] Nonetheless, divine *pronoia*, which in Kantakouzenos's theological works (following Gregory Palamas) is an eternal activity of God, guides the affairs of men either by allowance or intervention, but remains a mystery hidden from the minds of men. It is discernable often through signs given by God, but only by holy men.[69] The developments of history do not happen accidentally. To ordinary men, the judgments (*krimata*) of God appear as accidental, chance events (*automata*). With political and military developments, divine *pronoia* overturns the expected course of events, bringing unexpected results.[70] Thus, at 3.347–349 Kantakouzenos contemplates a series of reversals that brought unexpected gains, noting at the end that only one deprived of mind and reason would not attribute them to divine providence. God in His providence aids in battle but also punishes sins in His justice.[71] Ultimately, whatever good or evil occurs is allotted (*oikonomeisthai*) by divine providence in order to strengthen or chastise the Romans and induce them to repent.[72]

Kantakouzenos's concept of divine *pronoia* attracted criticism.[73] His theological and historiographical rival, Nikephoros Gregoras, attributes to Matthew Kantakouzenos (and, thus, by extension to his father) the equation of fortune (*tychē*), accident (*automaton*), and divine *pronoia*.[74] According to Gregoras, the younger Kantakouzenos claimed that man acts and suffers under the constraint of *anagkē* against his will in an historical process that is guided by *tychē* and *to automaton*.[75] Gregoras is a polemicist, however, and the attribution of such a statement to a member of the Kantakouzenoi was meant to be theologically provocative. Nevertheless, for Kantakouzenos, *anagkē* is one of the primary forces that shape the course of history. In his history, he portrays himself as constantly forced to act against his intention. From marching against Constantinople and making alliances with Serbian and Ottoman leaders to becoming emperor himself, it is necessity that compels him to act. To be sure, Kantakouzenos deliberately chooses his courses of action. But his choices are constrained by circumstance. Thus, he complains that necessity makes him act differently than what he intended.[76] According to Kantakouzenos's account, *anagkē* governs human actions. Kazhdan observes that there is a limited determinism in Kantakouzenos's description of human action.[77] *Contra* Gregoras, rather than a philosophical or theological stand, Kantakouzenos's determinism is forensically oriented. To paraphrase and slightly amend Thoukyidides: *anagkē* is the truest cause—and in the *Histories* openly expressed—of Kantakouzenos's actions in the civil wars and in ushering in the empire's misfortunes.[78]

For Thoukydides, however, *anagkē* does not make a course of events inevitable; rather, through the interaction of practical reasoning and circumstance, it makes them unavoidable. Despite the limitations placed on the human will, practical reason is still operative in *anagkē*. It is the sequence of circumstances that makes alternative choices undesirable and leads historical agents to make decisions whose consequences are often unforeseeable and against their will.[79] Thoukydides' naturalistic approach to necessity is fruitful ground for Kantakouzenos's invention of his own defense. Like the ancient historian, the emperor conceived of *anagkē* driving the actions of history as the aggregate of practical necessities compelled by the course of events (*phora tōn pragmatōn*). When historical agents "come to need" (*elthein eis anagkas*), their practical reasoning is constrained by a narrow perimeter. Within this framework human reason operates according to a logic shaped by circumstance. The historical agent is compelled by the force of this logic to act in ways whose benefit for the empire is at best limited or temporary. Thus, war leads Kantakouzenos to involuntary necessities (*akousious anagkās*).[80] Compelled by necessity, he is forced to ally himself with barbarians, who cause damage to the Romans, their property, and their commonwealth. Yet, even when he complains that he is forced to act, he never claims to have acted irrationally. His decisions are always made with a *synesis* that is relative to circumstance, and, in the end, this is his defense: that faced with impossible or unexpected circumstances, practical reason always governed his decisions. He, nevertheless, does not grant the same break to his opponents.[81]

LOGOS AND *ERGON* IN THE REIGN OF ANDRONIKOS III

Book Two of Kantakouzenos's *Histories* treats the interbellum period between the civil wars of 1320s and the 1340s. This is the reign of Andronikos III Palaiologos, which in Kantakouzenos's circle was seen as a time of renewed hope and vigor. As presented in the *Histories*, this is also a period when the *logoi* of the *Histories*' heroes aligned much more closely with the *erga* of historical action. This too may be of Thoukydidean inspiration. Parry argued that *logos* had the power to shape historical *erga* in Thoukydides' account more in the era of Perikles (461–429 BC) than in any other period of fifth-century Athenian history. Further, it was by the *gnōmē* of Perikles that the Athenians were able to achieve a political order based on clear reason and prudent judgment.[82] Leaving aside the thorny question of whether Thoukydides or, indeed, Parry were correct or not in their assessments of Perikles and of Thoukydides respectively, let me suggest that John Kantakouzenos's reading of Thoukydides may have coincided with Parry's reading. We might see evidence of this in his treatment of the interbellum period of 1328–1341.

The stated cause for Andronikos III's initial rebellion against his grandfather in the 1320s is to protect his rights against the arbitrary decision of Andronikos II to remove him from the line of succession and to replace him with the incompetent *nothos*, Michael Katharos.[83] The underlying cause, however, is discontent with the elderly emperor's advisors and his lack of military competence. The elder Andronikos is timid in the face of enemy provocations, inactive, and failed to live up to the Roman standard of virtue, while his advisors neglected the good of the empire.[84] We might say, further, that Andronikos II's reign—at least in the way that Kantakouzenos presents the end of his reign—is characterized by a feeble *logos*. Symptomatically, Andronikos II's proposal that an imperial force led by the general Manuel Tsagares be dispatched against the younger Andronikos and his friends is shot down by the experienced general. The emperor lacked military judgment and his word held no sway.[85] By contrast, Andronikos III and the *Megas Domestikos* John Kantakouzenos are energetic and active, and their deliberations are full of prudent proposals and insight on military affairs. When Bulgarian forces raid imperial lands in 1328, the younger Andronikos fields a large army which eventually convinced the Bulgarians to withdraw without a fight.[86] The episode provides ample material for Kantakouzenos to compare and contrast the two Andronikoi.[87] It also demonstrates the near perfect coincidence of *logos* and *ergon* in the younger Andronikos's policies. Indeed, Andronikos III succeeds without much effort beyond the mustering of a large army—historical events conform to the emperor's *logos*.

In the years that follow, however, Andronikos III's record on the eastern front leaves much to be desired. The greatest military disaster in Andronikos's reign comes a year after his accession at the battle of Pelekanos. Yet according to Kantakouzenos, Andronikos's record *is* worthy of praise and the military failures in Bithynia are a result both of the situation he inherited from his grandfather and of treachery on the part of Andronikos II's partisans.[88] The panicked rout at Pelekanos is the result of *phthonos* frustrating the emperor's efforts at a restoration of order in Asia. Nonetheless, there are other instances of the imperial *logos* driving the action of history. Despite his defeat by the Ottomans 1329, Andronikos is able to drive back an Ottoman force without a fight in 1331 at Nikomedeia, and he is able to bring the beys of Saruhan and Aydin to heel without the force of arms.[89] In theory at least, the Turkish beys of the old themes of Asia Minor were his *enspondoi* (allies), prostrating before the emperor of the Romans. The Ottomans' turn came in 1333 when Andronikos sailed to Nikomedeia with a relief force to lift Orhan's siege. After an exchange of embassies, the two leaders met. Orhan becomes the Romans' *enspondos* promising to leave the remaining Roman cities of Bithynia unmolested.[90] What Kantakouzenos does not mention is that Andronikos was forced to pay tribute to Orhan for the safety of what was left of Roman Asia Minor.

Despite setbacks in Asia, in the new order established by Andronikos III intelligence and prudent judgment govern historical events. Arguably, Andronikos's greatest foreign policy achievements are the reincorporation of Thessaly and Epiros into the empire. In 1333, taking advantage of the death of Stephanos Gabrielopoulos, Andronikos sends an imperial army to Thessaly under the command of Michael Monomachos, who swiftly brings all the territory between Elasson and the Boiotian frontier into the imperial fold. Then, the death of John II Orsini in 1335 and disturbances by Albanian warlords give occasion for a further imperial intervention. Andronikos's intervention is of interest for our purposes in two regards. First, the deployment of Turkish forces from Aydin demonstrates once more the priority of *logos* over *erga*, as foreign troops and Epirote separatists—two notoriously intractable players, at least from Constantinople's perspective—conform to Andronikos's rational military and political *logismoi*. The emperor's intelligence is in control driving the *erga* of history, while Albanian freebooters receive their just reward. The end result is the surrender of Arta by Anna Palaiologina and the incorporation of Epiros into the Empire. Second, the surrender of the fortresses of Rogoi and Thomokastron as well as the recapture of Arta are accomplished by the wise eloquence of John Kantakouzenos. It is not coincidental that John devotes much space to recounting the speeches and deliberations that culminate in the surrender of these Epirote strongholds.

The authority of Kantakouzenos's *logos* over historical events is best summarized in the speech of the commander of Rogoi fortress, Alexios Kabasilas, to Andronikos III. Kabasilas admits that he was utterly defeated (*katakras hēttētheis*) by Kantakouzenos's words and compelled to act in a manner contrary to his original plan. He became a prisoner of John's persuasive arguments but could not explain how. He only knew that after speaking with the *Megas Domestikos* he completely changed his mind.[91] Kantakouzenos repeats this feat twice more, at Arta and at Thomokastron. This is the golden age of Andronikos III, when the prudence, acuity, and eloquence of *logos* shapes the *erga* of historical.

The last episode of Andronikos III's life represents the final act of the rational political order established by his rise in 1328. A church council was convened in Constantinople in June 1341 to examine charges brought against Gregory Palamas by the Greco-Italian monk and scholar Barlaam the Calabrian. The deliberations were conducted in the southern gallery of Hagia Sophia in the presence of the emperor, Patriarch John XIV Kalekas, the Patriarchal Synod, and the Senate. Barlaam had accused the Athonite Hesychast monks of observing dubious mystical practices and, in particular, he accused Gregory Palamas of heresy when the Athonite theologian maintained that holy monks contemplate the eternal radiance of God, the same light that shone from Christ on Tabor. In Kantakouzenos's version of events, when Barlaam realized that Palamas and the Hesychasts were about to be acquitted, he turned to the *Megas Domestikos* for advice and intercession on his behalf. Kantakouzenos persuaded Barlaam to give up his dispute with Palamas, to accept the teachings of the Hesychast monks on ascetic practice, and to concede that the divine light that shone from Christ on Mt. Tabor was the eternal light of God and not a temporary radiance. Barlaam agreed to do so and thus was able to avoid punishment, reconciling himself with Palamas and the Hesychast monks, if only temporarily.[92] Thus Kantakouzenos through his speech brought about peace in the church, and in this he was a coöperant with God, Who through the words of the *Megas Domestikos* suppressed *philoneikia* (contentious rivalry) and preserved the church's unity. Within days of the council's conclusion Andronikos III died, and the era of congruent *logoi* and *erga* that his rise inaugurated quickly faded away. The order of *logos* was swiftly overtaken by events as continual *stasis* consumed church and state.

CONCLUSION

In his introduction to the third book of the *Histories*, Kantakouzenos explains that he plans to preserve for future generations a truthful account of the civil war that reduced the once mighty Roman Empire to a shadow of its former self, so that they might learn of the evils created by *phthonos*.[93] He considered it imperative that future students of history study not hearsay and rumors, but an account based on his own first-hand testimony. His truthful account would recount events as they actually happened, consider the attribution of reproach and blame, and avoid needlessly speaking ill of others. And if his account differed from the hearsay and rumors in circulation, it is because of his devotion to truth rather than to what the many believe. Kantakouzenos thus framed his account of the most controversial period of his career with a methodological statement largely inspired by Thoukydides, but which also doubled as an introduction to his own *apologia*. The judgments against him in the court of popular opinion suffered both in regards to accuracy vis-à-vis the facts and to the limitations of the available sources.

In concluding, it might be useful here to summarize Kantakouzenos's defense in the language of Byzantine forensics and to see Kantakouzenos's arguments in the light of the Thoukydidean influences that shaped the way he reflected on the events of his life and, thus, the representation of his own *logoi* and *erga*.[94] The matter of judgment (*krinomenon*) is whether or not Kantakouzenos wrecked the empire out of overreaching ambition. The emperor-turned-monk-scholar sets the record straight, detailing through inartificial proof—that is, through direct and indirect speech and lengthy quotations from primary sources—the particulars of the complex of underlying motivations in himself and others, and the surprising (*par' elpida*) convolutions of circumstances. Unable to deny the facts, his strategy is to adopt a rhetorical *stasis* of quality (*kata poiotēta*): to concede the fact but to explain motive and circumstance. Kantakouzenos's frequent invocation of *lysiteleia* and *anagkē* fits squarely in this forensic framework. From the standpoint of a *kat'antistasin* (an argument from real or perceived advantage), he argues his actions always aimed at *lysiteleia* for the whole commonwealth. By contrast, his enemies were driven by *phthonos* and unleashed forces that no one could control. Arguing from *metastasis* (transference of blame), blame is to be attributed to them for that and not to him. Then, arguing from *antilēpsis* (mitigating circumstance), his will was constrained by practical necessity in the context of quickly changing circumstances, forcing him to make tough decisions whose consequences he could not avoid or foresee. Moreover, what he thought and planned diverged greatly from what actually happened. This misalignment of *logos* and *ergon* in a time of crisis, a central lesson of Thoukydides' treatment of the Peloponnesian War, is ultimately the core of Kantakouzenos's *kat' antilēpsin* defense: he deliberated and planned to the best of his ability, but the result was not what he intended.

NOTES

1. L. Schopen and B. Neibuhr, eds, *Ioannis Cantacuzeni Eximperatoris Historiarum Libri IV, 3 vols. Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae* (Bonn: Weber, 1828–1832). Hereafter cited as Kantakouzenos, *Historiae*. Cf. Herbert Hunger, “Thoukydides bei Johannes Kantakuzenos: Beobachtungen zur Mimesis,” *JÖB* 25 (1976): 181–93; idem, *Die Hochsprachliche Profane Literatur der Byzantiner* (Munich: H.C. Beck, 1978), 1.465–76; A. P. Kazhdan and Irène Sorlin, “L’ Histoire de Cantacuzène et tant qu’oeuvre Littéraire,” *Byzantion* 50 (1980): 279–335.

2. Hunger, *Die Hochsprachliche Profane Literatur*, 1.473.

3. *Refutationes*: *Johannis Cantacuzeni Refutationes Duae Prochori Cydonii et Disputatio cum Paulo Patriarcha Latino Epistulis Septem Tradita*, ed. F. Tinnefeld and E. Voordeckers, Corpus Christianorum: Series Graeca 16 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1987), 3–105, 109–72; *Epistula ad Ioannem*: J. Darrouzès, “Lettre Inédite de Jean Cantacuzène Relative à La Controverse Palamite,” *Revue des Études Byzantines* 17 (1959): 15–21.

4. John Meyendorff, “Projects de Concile Oecumènique en 1367: Un Dialogue Inedit entre Jean Cantacuzène et le Lègat Paul,” Dumbarton Oaks Papers 14 (1960): 147–177.

5. *Contra Sectam Mohameticam Apologiae*, ed. K. Förstel, *Johannes Kantakuzenos, Christentum und Islam. Apologetische und Polemische Schriften*. Corpus Islamo-Christianum: Series Graeca 6 (Altenberge: Oros, 2005), 2–232; *Orationes Quator Contra Mohametem*: ibid., 236–368.

6. *Contra Judaeos*, ed. Ch. G. Soteropoulos, *Ἰωάννου ΣΤ’ Καντακουζηνοῦ Κατὰ Ἰουδαίων Λόγοι Ἐννέα* (Athens, 1990), 69–263.

7. See discussion in Panagiotes Chrestou, *Γρηγορίου Παλαμᾶ Ἔργα*, vol. 7 (Thessalonike: Το Βυζάντιον, 1994), 56–74.

8. On the dating of the *Histories*, see Hunger, *Die Hochsprachliche Profane Literatur*, 1.469; Donald Nicol, *The Byzantine family of Kantakouzenos (Cantacuzenus) ca. 1100–1460* (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks, 1986), 100.

9. Kantakouzenos, *Historiae* 1.185, 1.344, 1.345, 2.54, 2.244, 2.251.

10. Ibid., 1.328.

11. Ibid., 1.9–10.

12. See Ihor Sevçenko, “The Decline of Byzantium Seen through the Eyes of Its Intellectuals,” *DOP* 15 (1961): 167–86.

13. Kantakouzenos, *Historiae*, 3.365.

14. Ibid., 3.49–53.

15. Timothy Miller, “The Plague in John Cantacuzenus and Thucydides,” *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies* 17 (1976): 385–95.

16. Hunger, *Die Hochsprachliche Profane Literatur*, 1.475.

17. Josiah Ober, “Thucydides and the Invention of Political Science,” in *Brill’s Companion to Thucydides*, edited by Antonis Tsakmakis and Antonios Rengakos, 144 (Leiden: Brill, 2006).

18. H. S. Jones and J. E. Powell, *Thucydidis Historiae* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970), 3.82 (=Thoukydides, *Historiae*).

19. See Simon Hornblower, *A Commentary on Thucydides*, vol. 1 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), 483.
20. Thoukydides, *Historiae*, 3.82. Translation: Steven Lattimore, *Thucydides: The Peloponnesian War* (Indianapolis: Hachette Publishing, 1998), 169.
21. Thoukydides, *Historiae*, 3.82.
22. Kantakouzenos, *Historiae*, 2.178.
23. Ibid.: δεινὸν καὶ κακόηθές τι νόσημα.
24. Thoukydides, *Historiae*, 3.82.
25. Kantakouzenos, *Historiae*, 2.178.
26. Thoukydides, *Historiae*, 1.22.
27. Kantakouzenos, *Historiae*, 1.10, 3.364.
28. Ibid., 1.10; 2.11–12.
29. Ibid., 1.10.
30. Hunger, *Die Hochsprachliche Profane Literatur*, 1.469.
31. Kantakouzenos, *Historiae*, 3.94–99.
32. Athanasios Angelou, "Subversion and Duplicity in the *Histories* of John Kantakouzenos," in *Power and Subversion in Byantium*, edited by D. Angelov, 263–79 (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013).
33. Cf. John Kalekas's speech in *Historiae*, 2.446. For examples of distortion and invention for the sake of invective, see Savvas Kyriakidis, "Warfare and Propaganda: The Portrayal of Andronikos II Palaiologos (1282–1328) as an Incompetent Military Leader in the *Histories* of John VI Kantakouzenos (1347–1354)," *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 37.2 (2013): 176–89.
34. Kantakouzenos, *Historiae*, 1.355–356.
35. Syrianus Magister, *Rhetorica Miltiaris*, 32 (=*Siriano: Discorsi Di Guerra*, ed. Immacolata Eramo [Bari: Edizioni Dedalo, 2010], 36–113).
36. Cf. ibid., 46.
37. Kyriakidis, "Warfare and Propaganda," 184.
38. Thoukydides, *Historiae*, 1.22.
39. Adam Milman Perry, *Λόγος and Ἔργον in Thucydides* (New York: Arno Press, 1981), 7–9.
40. Ibid., 10–13.
41. Kantakouzenos, *Historiae*, 1.162: Kantakouzenos exhorts his audience: εἰς ἔργα προάξωμεν τοὺς λόγους (Let us render our words into deeds).
42. Adam Milman Perry, *Λόγος and Ἔργον in Thucydides* (New York: Arno Press, 1981), 10.
43. See Franz Dölger, "Johannes VI Kantakouzenos als Dynastischer Legitimist," in *Paraspora: Dreißig Aufsätze zur Geschichte, Kultur, und Sprache des Byzantinsches Reiches*, 194–207 (Munich: Buch-Kunstverlag Ettal, 1961).
44. Hans-George Beck, *Das Byzantinische Jahrtausend* (Nördlingen: Deutsche Taschenbuch Verlag, 1982), 38–39.
45. Kantakouzenos, *Historiae*, 2.154–160.
46. Cf. ibid., 3.37: ἡ φορὰ τῶν πραγμάτων.
47. Ibid., 2.609: πρὸς σωτηρίαν καὶ λυσιτέλειαν τῆς ἀρχῆς.

48. Especially in regards to rejecting the imperial office until there were no other options: *Historiae*, 1.365–366, 1.368–369, 1.557–560, 2.78–79, 2.82–83, 2.610–611, 3.308.

49. Perry, *Λόγος and Ἔργον*, 178–84; Hans-Peter Stahl, *Thucydides: Man's Place in History* (Swansea: The Classical Press of Wales, 2003), 75–102; John Marincola, *Greek Historians* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 89.

50. Stahl, *Thucydides*, 80.

51. James. V. Morrison, "Interaction of Speech and Narrative in Thoukydides," in *Brill's Companion to Thucydides*, ed. Antonios Rengakos and Antonis Tsakmakis (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 252.

52. Gregoras, *Historia Romana*, 2.612.

53. Kantakouzenos, *Historiae*, 2.362: ἡ φορά τῶν πραγμάτων.

54. Marincola, *Greek Historians*, 89.

55. Cf. Thoukydides, *Historiae*, 1.23.

56. Kantakouzenos, *Historiae*, 2.92, 2.505.

57. Ibid., 2.153.

58. Ibid., 2.316.

59. Ibid., 2.37.

60. Ibid., 2.12.

61. Ibid., 2.414.

62. Cf. ibid., 2.608.

63. Ibid., 2.313.

64. Ibid., 1.9.

65. Ibid., 2.362: ἀνάγκῃ τῶν πραγμάτων.

66. Kazhdan, "L' Histoire de Cantacuzène," 322.

67. Kantakouzenos, *Historiae*, 1.14, 2.317. 2.376. For similar interpretations of decline and military disasters of earlier centuries, see Walter E. Kaegi, *Byzantium and the Decline of Rome* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1968), 146–223; idem, "Initial Byzantine Reactions to the Arab Conquest," *Church History* 38.2 (June 1969): 139–49; idem, *Byzantium and the Early Islamic Conquest* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 205–30.

68. Kantakouzenos, *Historiae*, 3.205.

69. Ibid., 2.167.

70. Cf. ibid., 2.298, 3.122, 3.347–349.

71. Ibid., 1.190, 1.96, 1.215 (for aid in battle); 1.14, 1.23, 1.293, 1.345 (for punishment of sins).

72. Ibid., 3.52, 3.218.

73. See discussion in Kazhdan, "L' Histoire de Cantacuzène," 319–24.

74. *Nicephori Gregorae Historiae Byzantinae*, ed. I. Bekker and I. Schopen. Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae (Bonn: Weber, 1829–1855), 3.210.

75. Ibid., 3.206.

76. Cf. ibid., 3.159, 163, 258.

77. Kazhdan, "L' Histoire de Cantacuzène," 322.

78. Cf. Thoukydides, *Historiae*, 1.23.

79. Cf. Martin Ostwald, *ΑΝΑΓΚΗ in Thucydides* (Atlanta: Scholar's Press, 1988), 7–19. Ostwald argues that for Thoukydides necessity is essentially a psychological phenomenon. It is a function of an historical agent's perception that he has only one course of action.

80. Kantakouzenos, *Historiae*, 2.178.

81. Ibid., 2.362.

82. Parry, *Λόγος and Ἔργον*, 150–75; Marincola, *Greek Historians*, 89–90.

83. Kantakouzenos, *Historiae*, 1.15.

84. Ibid., 1.180–186.

85. Ibid., 2.115.

86. Ibid., 1.326.

87. For an analysis of Kantakouzenos's assessment of Andronikos II, see Kyriakidis, "Warfare and Propaganda."

88. Kantakouzenos, *Historiae*, 1.362.

89. Ibid., 1.388–389.

90. Ibid., 1.446–448.

91. Ibid., 1.517.

92. Ibid., 1.551–556.

93. Ibid., 2.12.

94. See definition and discussion of terms in George Kennedy, *A New History of Classical Rhetoric* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), 97–101; idem, *Greek Rhetoric under Christian Emperors* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983), 73–85.

Chapter 4

Constans II's Odd Speech[1]

David Olster

As Walter Kaegi points out in his books, *Byzantium and the Early Islamic Conquests* and *Byzantine Military Unrest*, the confused and contested succession after the death of Heraclius in 641 created an extremely dangerous and destabilizing crisis in the civil and military leadership of Byzantium at a decisive moment in the initial surge of the Arab invasions.[2] The rapid and frequent changes of leadership, not only in the imperial office but throughout the administrative elites as court factions jockeyed for position and advantage paralyzed Byzantine political will and policy and either delayed or undercut the responses to the military challenge of the Arabs. Between the death of Heraclius and the succession of his eldest son, Heraclius Constantine, in January or February 641, and the deposition and mutilation of his younger sons Heraclonas and David to establish the minor grandson of Heraclius, Constans II, on the throne about a year later, ruled no less than five emperors. And mixed in the musical chairs of emperors were the largely anonymous, but undoubtedly significant, military, religious, and civilian bureaucratic elites. Imperial contenders and pretenders were supported and opposed to a greater or lesser extent by two patriarchs, by several competing military officers, both named and unnamed (with their forces), and important figures in the civilian apparatus. The imperial competition involved bribery (or financial inducements for loyalty), purges and counter-purges, the flight (or deposition) of the patriarch Pyrrhus, and the exile of Heraclius's leading financial officer, Philagrius. The poverty of the sources limits our knowledge of just how disruptive the political instability was or just how extensive the personnel turnover was, but as Kaegi explained, this troubled succession and factional conflict "[m]aterially inhibited the defense of Northern Syria and especially Egypt and Cyrenaica at the moment of the Arab breakthrough."[3]

Unfortunately, not only the exact chronology, but even the broad sequence of events of this convoluted political minuet remains frustratingly obscure although it has been analyzed by numerous scholars including Walter Kaegi, John Haldon, Paul Speck, and Andreas Stratos.[4] Their comprehensive efforts to create a convincing chronology make it superfluous to add to their analysis of the broad sequence of events. Nonetheless, numerous questions remain regarding the tactics that the principal actors employed during this unstable time. Factional infighting then (and still today) was not only was about securing offices and patronage, but also about establishing a dominant, legitimating discourse for elite consumption. So, in this chapter, I focus on an odd notice under the year 641/642 in Theophanes's *Chronicle* that records a speech delivered by the ten-year-old Constans II to the Senate at the conclusion of the year of political instability. Hopefully, the speech, which we aim to demonstrate is not a mere coloration of the narrative by Theophanes, might give us some insight into the apologetics that Constans and his faction used to justify and legitimate the overthrow of one of Heraclius's appointed heirs by another.

It is a very brief entry, about ten lines, and is the only entry for that year:

> In this year, Constans, after becoming emperor, addressed the Senate as follows, "My father Constantine, who begot me, reigned as co-emperor for a considerable time during the lifetime of his father, that is, my grandfather Heraclius, and for a very short time after his death. But the envy of his stepmother Martina on account of Heraclonas, her illegitimate child by Heraclius, both cut off his high hopes and ended his life. Your righteous decision rightly cast her from the imperial dignity along with her child lest the Roman Empire seem to be ruled in an unlawful way, as Your High Magnificence well understood. Accordingly, I call on you to be my wise counselors concerning the common good of our subjects."[5]

With these words, he dismissed the Senate after bestowing gifts on them. Such is Theophanes's brief account. Constans thanks the Senate for deposing Martina and her son Heraclonas and restoring lawful government by raising him to the throne, calls on it to be his counselors, and finally dismisses it with gifts. On the surface, it seems a simple gesture of thanks to the Senate and its members who had placed him on the throne, but as Walter Kaegi often demonstrated, in the context of events, such a brief notice might connote a great deal more.

Although the speech is short and lamentably lacking in detail, if Theophanes did not invent it, it constitutes extremely rare evidence from a contemporary, seventh-century source that gives us some sense of how the actors in this confused time tried to present themselves as they attempted to establish some degree of political stability and a convincing, or at least imposable, discourse of legitimacy. And such legitimacy was necessary; Constans was a minor who had come to the throne through a coup that had overthrown not only a queen regent, but two sons and legitimate dynastic heirs of Heraclius, one of whom had crowned Constans himself. Whatever role Constans played in the events leading to his imperial ascension, it is extremely unlikely that he—a ten-year-old who likely held little power in his own hands—was more than a figurehead, although a figurehead with dynastic credentials and charisma who could undoubtedly provide legitimacy for the faction that placed him on the throne. But given whom he had overthrown and his own manner of assuming sole rule, it was essential that his own claims to legitimacy be extended to cover and legitimize those who had raised him above his uncles. Seen in this light, Constans's speech is more than an empty rhetorical exercise delivered at a conventional, ritual gathering of grandees. Rather, we would suggest that it gives a brief, tantalizing glimpse of the ritual and rhetorical constructs that the handlers of Constans II created to mask the military coup that put him on the throne and to establish an official, authoritative narrative that was designed not only to defend Constans's legitimacy, but also their own. The exact events might remain obscure, but it is possible that understanding how contemporaries shaped them into a legitimating narrative might provide another means to weigh the extant chronicle narratives of events critically.

Although Paul Speck in *Das geteilte Dossier* raised some questions regarding possible corruptions in the text, he did not challenge the speech's overall authenticity, nor is there any other scholarly challenge to its authenticity.[6] On the contrary, scholars have generally used this passage as a literal or near literal source for a ritual, imperial address to the Senate.[7] Nonetheless, it presents an interesting *quellenkritik* puzzle because however much one bends, twists, or turns it about, it is impossible to establish, either in Theophanes, Nicephorus, or any other extant source, a convincing connection to any other literary fragments that might give us a hint of its original literary form or context. Nothing else in Theophanes directly connects with it either as an imperial document or as a narrative (although we will argue for indirect connections to other elements of Theophanes's narrative). And while Nicephorus's *Short History* has a detailed narrative of the events leading up to the appointment of Constans's patron Valentinus as Count of the Excubitors and Paul as patriarch in Pyrrhus's place, both appointments are by Martina and Heraclonas and the narrative ends shortly after the crowning not only of Constans by Heraclonas, but also of Heraclonas's own brother David. After a short description of the flight of Pyrrhus and the investiture of Paul, Nicephorus's narrative ends, to be continued with the murder of Constans II twenty-seven years later, an extraordinary lacuna in the narrative that no scholar has fully explained. There is no narrative of the deposition of Heraclonas or the speech of Constans.[8]

The Byzantine chronicle tradition offers no help in unraveling Theophanes's possible source either. Both George Harmartolus and Zonaras omit any mention of a speech at all, although it is clear that they are aware of Theophanes's version of events or at least Theophanes's source's version.[9] Michael the Syrian, who shares sources for the seventh century with Theophanes, writes merely that Martina poisoned Constantine and (erroneously) that Constans killed his two step-uncles and his stepmother.[10] Quite unlike the clear connection between Michael the Syrian's and Theophanes's narrative of Arab advances and provincial affairs, Theophanes does not seem to have used Michael the Syrian's sources for the accession of Constans or for Constantinopolitan affairs in general. Leo Grammaticus and Cedrenus share a common source tradition with Theophanes (and had very likely read Theophanes who might have been their main source), and, in addition, incorporate information about Heraclius Constantine that is missing in Theophanes: that Heraclius Constantine's widow Anastasia was buried with her husband in the Church of the Holy Apostles after her death—an item that is itself a puzzle since the wife of Heraclius Constantine was named Gregoria. How this stray bit of information landed in Leo's text is unclear, but clearly, although Leo was dependent on Theophanes, he was not slavishly so. Thus, although Leo does preserve a somewhat abridged version of Constans's speech, for reasons that will be elucidated shortly, Leo significantly edited this speech (which he likely received from Theophanes and not the original source) and it is inferior to the version in Theophanes.[11] Cedrenus, as usual following Theophanes, notes the speech and the gifts to the Senate, but omits the text of the speech.[12] He also shares the entry about Anastasia with Leo so that it appears either that various versions of Theophanes's text circulated or that Cedrenus was aware of Leo's version or both.

Now, it is possible that Constans's speech was from some continuation of Nicephorus's narrative source, but in that case, why are not at least some elements of this source present in Theophanes? The only points of connection between Nicephorus and Theophanes in this narrative sequence are the death of Heraclius Constantine and the episcopal transition from Pyrrhus to Paul. But Nicephorus tells us that Constantine died of natural causes, while Theophanes tells us that Constantine was poisoned by Martina and Pyrrhus. And where Theophanes declares that Pyrrhus was deposed, Nicephorus explains (at length) that Pyrrhus resigned or fled. Even recognizing that Theophanes employed a very active editorial pen, it is still hard to see how he could have employed Nicephorus's narrative source and so significantly changed the only two salient features of the historical narrative that are also present in his own narrative, namely, the death of Heraclius Constantine and the deposition of Pyrrhus.

While the possibility that Theophanes lifted Constans's speech from an otherwise unknown chronicle or history can never be entirely excluded, especially given the detailed narrative in Nicephorus which may very well come from some sort of history, it seems to be unlikely. It would seem far more likely that the speech was included in an imperial edict following the coup that brought Constans to power, announcing the official version of events, and that Theophanes used the edict which was preserved in an imperial or patriarchal archive. Moreover, the internal evidence of Theophanes's narrative very strongly implies that the speech was embedded in an edict that also included a brief narrative introduction to establish the circumstances that gave rise to the speech.

First, we must note that Theophanes's entries for the years 639/640–641/642 are consistent in the one-year error that characterizes his chronology between 608 and 726.[13] Heraclius did not die in February of 640, but in February of 641, and the events surrounding his contested succession unfolded between his death in 641 and the coup that brought Constans to power approximately a year later. So for the purpose of simplifying an already complicated textual analysis, we will refer to these three years by their correct dates.

If we consider Theophanes's entries for the years 640/641–642/643, we find that there is only one piece of information that is not directly linked to the succession crisis narrative following the death of Heraclius.[14] Theophanes 640/641 contains only one item of information, the narrative of the death of Heraclius the Elder and the succession of his son:

> In this year, the emperor Heraclius died in the month of March in the fourteenth indiction, after ruling for thirty years and ten months. And after him, his son Constantine ruled for four months and was poisoned by Martina, his stepmother, and Pyrrhus the patriarch. And the son of Martina, Heraclonas, ruled with his mother Martina.[15]

This narrative is a straightforward, clear exposition of the developed apologetic narrative that emerged from Constans's chancery and is found to a large extent in his speech: to wit, Constantine was poisoned not only by Martina, but by Pyrrhus as well, and that subsequently, Heraclonas "ruled with his mother." As Nicephorus's far more detailed and persuasive narrative of Constantine's reign reveals, Constantine, who was of a sickly disposition, likely died of natural causes, and in any case, although it is clear that Pyrrhus and Martina were political allies, Nicephorus gives not the slightest hint that either had anything whatsoever to do with Constantine's death.[16] The trope of the female poisoner is clearly recognizable in this narrative, and while it would not be impossible for Theophanes to have used some version of the source found in Nicephorus to attribute Constantine's death to feminine wiles, it is not that likely that he would have added Pyrrhus, even though he was a Monothelete, just for color. It is far more likely that a seventh-century source emerging from Constans's chancery would have linked the patriarch, who was politically allied with Martina and who was compelled to flee the city during the chaos attending Heraclonas's overthrow, with her nefarious murder of Heraclius Constantine.

The following year, 641/642, describes the overthrow of Heraclonas and Martina:

> In this year, the Senate drove out Heraclonas at the same time with his mother Martina and Valentinus [*sic*]. And they removed Martina's tongue and Heraclonas's nose, after exiling them, raised Constans, son of Constantine, grandson of Heraclius, to power. And he ruled twenty-seven years. And after deposing Pyrrhus from his episcopate, Paul, presbyter and *oikonomos* of the church in the month of October, indiction fifteen, and he was bishop for twelve years.[17]

The association of Valentinus, who was in fact Constans's champion, the one who in fact placed him on the throne and his eventual father-in-law, with Martina is undoubtedly a corruption or a confusion in the text. It is possible that Theophanes added "and with Valentinus" on his own since Constans does kill Valentinus two years later (in 643/644), but it seems less likely that Theophanes would add to the text rather than rearrange it. We would tentatively suggest that somehow *kai Balentino* migrated from its proper place after *he sygkletos*—that is, "the Senate with Valentinus"—to the end of sentence. This would fit the actual course of events and as we will see below, also fit the context of Constans's speech. Exactly how this error might have come about cannot of course be determined with any degree of accuracy, but two possible explanations come to mind. First, it is possible that a copyist or even Theophanes himself grouped all the nouns in the dative in the sentence together, assuming a previous copyist's error. Or, since Valentinus was killed by Constans two years later, Theophanes naturally assumed that Valentinus had been an ally of Heraclonas and had been exiled then. And, if the latter supposition is correct, it would reinforce the first. In any case, the text as it stands now must be emended.

If one eliminates the editorial asides like the formula "In this year" and Paul's tenure, it can be seen that years 640/641 and 641/642 form a single, coherent narrative from the death of Heraclius to the assumption of power by Constans. Furthermore, this narrative acts as a preface to the speech, reported in 642/643, which begins simply, "In this year, Constans, after becoming emperor, said to the Senate."[18]

But what is perhaps most striking about this three-entry sequence is that two of the three entries are chronologically incorrect. Constantine died in May 641, and so his death should correctly be noted under the 641/642. But instead, Theophanes places his death a year early, perhaps to set his death together with his father's as a pair, and to introduce his poisoners Heraclonas and Martina. The next year correctly dates the overthrow of Heraclonas, Martina, and Pyrrhus and the accession of Constans. But whether Theophanes counted Constans's accession from his coronation by Heraclonas in the fall of 641 or his assumption of sole power in January or February 642, the speech to the Senate belongs under the year 641/642, not under the year 642/643.

This division of the succession narrative into separate years is patently artificial, literary, and, most importantly, chronologically incorrect. The fact is that the entire narrative from the death of Constantine to the accession of Constans occurred in the same year. But such chronological sloppiness is not unusual when Theophanes adapted an undated narrative to the chronicle format.[19] Such imprecision and the almost arbitrary distribution of a narrative among separate (and not very carefully considered) annual entries is one of Theophanes's most characteristic editorial habits when incorporating an undated narrative into his chronicle format. Theophanes had chronological holes to fill, and obviously lacking other sources or information, simply divvied up what sources he had to cover the temporal gaps. Consequently, we would suggest that the notices for these three years actually formed a single document that Theophanes characteristically divided among several years both to fit the annual organization of the chronicle, and to fill its literary and temporal space for a period in which his sources were extremely scarce.

As for the document itself, it is possible that it could be some entirely unknown history (or less likely, given Theophanes's use of it, even a chronicle). The detailed narrative of Nicephorus clearly proves the existence of alternative texts, but the inclusion of the speech implies very strongly that it was the official announcement of the assumption of power by Constans to be presented to the governmental hierarchy in order to establish an official, legitimating narrative. The introductory text would have been the clear narrative of his father's murder, the overthrow of the miscreants (including the patriarch) who were responsible, and, finally, his own accession. Significantly, Constans (or more properly, his handlers) conveniently ignored his own coronation by Heraclonas in the fall of 641, and instead dated his rule from his investiture by the Senate following the coup that brought him to power. And, if we are correct in our surmise that the original text was "the Senate with Valentinus," then the text would have rightly credited not only the Senate but the real author of Constans' accession.

If this is the case, it would certainly help explain the otherwise irreconcilable differences between the narratives of Theophanes and Nicephorus.[20] Nonetheless, as we hope to demonstrate, at least this once Theophanes preserved his source without extensive editorial emendations (aside from dividing it among separate years), and this source thus provides a framework for understanding Constans's claims to legitimacy.

To begin, we might note three characteristics of the speech that may not as yet have been sufficiently considered. First, although the speech aims to legitimate Constans himself, we do not think that it has been sufficiently recognized that the problem of legitimacy affected not only Constans, but his military patron, Valentinus, who was commander of the Asian army, or perhaps more specifically as John Haldon has suggested, the Opsikion corps.[21] During the course of the crisis, he added Count of the Excubitors to his resume, eventually became Constans's father-in-law, and finally, during the next three to five years, concluded his career as a dead rebel: a very seventh-century-ish career.[22]

Second, although Constans was placed on the throne by a military coup, there is no mention of the army in the speech, and although there is possibly a nod to Valentinus as the individual with whom the Senate acted, his military office is not mentioned. But the succession crisis was in fact resolved by the use of military force or the threat of military force. According to Nicephorus, the first actions taken in the succession crisis in fact were when Heraclius Constantine learned from Philagrius the treasurer that the patriarch Pyrrhus had received a large sum of money on behalf of Martina in case she should be driven out of the palace by Heraclius Constantine. Heraclius Constantine's confiscation of this money proved decisive because, when he shortly thereafter died, these funds were used by Valentinus, the *hypospistes* of Philagrius, to bribe the Asian army—perhaps the Opsikion corps—to support Constans against Martina and her sons.[23] Ultimately, Valentinus achieved the succession of Constans by bringing his army—suitably bribed with the money that he received from Philagrius—to Chalcedon and threatening to burn or pillage the Asiatic suburbs of Constantinople. Martina and Heraclonas responded to this threat by attempting to rally Thracian and perhaps other Asiatic military forces against Valentinus and his army. And much of the conflict within Constantinople itself involved seeking funds with which to bribe soldiers or the maneuvers of different Constantinopolitan factions to seek military allies and support. John of Nikiu reported that Martina even offered to marry the commander of the Armeniac corps in order to secure his services against Valentinus.[24] In short, the final arbiter of the dynastic succession was the military and not the civilian arm of the government; in particular, there is no source evidence whatsoever—aside from the speech itself—that the Senate as a political body played any role whatsoever in the succession crisis.

Third and finally, the failure to mention the army contrasts sharply with the speech's crediting the Senate alone (or possibly with Valentinus whose military credentials are ignored) for deposing Heraclonas and Martina, misrepresenting the actual course of events and in particular, disregarding entirely the decisive role of the military. And indeed, the Byzantine chronicle tradition following Theophanes duly recited that Martina and Heraclonas had been overthrown or rejected by the Senate although no narrative of the events preceding Constans's accession—including Theophanes's own truncated narrative—even hints that this might have been the case. In fact, the only evidence that the Senate had any role in Valentinus's coup is the speech itself. On the contrary, the source traditions that seem to have had superior (or at least alternate) historical sources—Pseudo-Sebeos, John of Nikiu, and Nicephorus—credit Valentinus and the army exclusively with the overthrow of Martina and her sons.[25]

The patent misrepresentation of actors and events in the speech calls into question the speech's literal value as a source for the political dynamics that set Constans on the throne. In particular, its misrepresentation of the Senate's role in Constans's accession requires that we understand it not as an act of gratitude, but as a ceremonial setting to present the script that Constans's handlers expected the assembled imperial elite to follow. And if the object of the speech was to frame the official court narrative of Valentinus's coup, it was certainly a success as the testimonies of Theophanes and the chronicle tradition that followed him demonstrate. The speech therefore should not be understood as an outline or summary of the political events leading to Constans's accession, but as a staged court ritual designed to present its elite audience with the official narrative clarifying the moral (or immoral) character of the imperial actors in order to legitimate a military coup.[26]

Furthermore, the venue of the speech is a strong hint that its goal was neither a literal expression of imperial gratitude to the Senate far less a factual retelling of the events leading to Constans's accession. Whatever the composition of the Senate in the seventh century, it was not likely a politically powerful institution. Even if, as John Haldon maintains, a Senatorial class of elite landholders survived the tumults of the Persian and Arab invasions, it is certainly likely that significant numbers of that class either lost their lands or were engulfed by the invading tides. Even in the best case scenario, as Haldon explains, "From a detailed analysis of members of the senatorial and administrative elite during the seventh century, however, it seems that the older senatorial magnate families gradually lose in power to the rising service aristocracy of the Constantinopolitan establishment—in which the choice of individual emperors in promoting those they favoured or judged worthy of a particular office honour was crucial."[27]

There is no doubt that the Senate contained most, if not all, of the most politically powerful officers of the state, but there is no evidence that as a body, it had any effective political or financial functions that gave it control of any significant institutional levers of power. No doubt, individual Senators could be very powerful—as was Valentinus—but there is little evidence that the Senate as an institution had significant power aside from its role as a manpower pool for the imperial administration and the potentially powerful positions of individual members. So far as the evidence indicates, the institutional activities of the Senate during the seventh century were limited to ritualized, publicly enacted performances to celebrate, acknowledge, and legitimate imperial candidates on the one hand, or to serve as an institutional buffer to distance the emperor from actions that could cause him political damage on the other. There is no evidence whatsoever that the Senate exercised any legislative function or possessed any financial authority, and its only known judicial action was the trial of Maximus the Confessor in which it was clearly following imperial direction.

Typically, the Senate was used by emperors as a surrogate to pursue riskier policies that could potentially threaten imperial prestige. When Heraclius, faced by mounting Persian victories in the wake of the civil and military disorder created by his revolt, sought a truce with Chosroes in 615, he had the offer sent under the name of the Senate rather than his own. Most likely, he was attempting to avoid the humiliation of suing for peace under his own name and used the Senate as a convenient middleman to preserve his dignity and avoid the onus of requesting a truce and the humiliation of Chosroes's rejection.[28] Forty years later, Constans II had Maximus the Confessor tried before the Senate and convicted of treason in order to avoid the personal responsibility for condemning an influential and widely respected churchman and perhaps even leaving open the possibility of intervening to pardon Maximus should he have abjured his previous opposition to Constans's legitimacy. As Haldon has pointed out, Constans was far more interested in coming to an accommodation with Maximus than exacting punishment.[29] In both of these cases, the emperor used the Senate as a means of creating a political negotiating space within which to maneuver and a fictive alternate authority that he could use as a lightning rod to divert any potential political backlash. Heraclius, by using the Senate to offer peace to Chosroes, avoided the humiliation of suing for peace or a personal rebuff to his offer; Constans, by using the Senate to condemn Maximus, tried to avoid (unsuccessfully) the label of persecutor. In neither case is there any evidence that the Senate exercised any independent authority; rather, it was simply the cat's paw for imperial policy.

By far the most numerous seventh-century references to the Senate refer to its ceremonial role in acknowledging and legitimating imperial candidates. The Senate was present at the accession of Phocas, Heraclius, Heraclius Constantine, and Constans II.[30] But the best evidence for the Senate's ritual acknowledgment of imperial legitimacy is preserved in four excerpts in *On Ceremonies* that detail the accession of Heraclonas as emperor and his brother David as Caesar in 638, a procession into Hagia Sophia, an acclamation of Heraclius at the Hippodrome, and the burial of the patriarch Sergius in 639.[31] Moreover, the Senate not only legitimated emperors at coronation ceremonies; during his revolt against Phocas, Heraclius received "a large number of Senators" at Abydos while preparing his final advance toward Constantinople doubtless to bolster his public image as a legitimate claimant to the throne; materially, the overthrow of Phocas was effected through military means in which the Senate had no role.[32] In all of these political processes, the Senate's role was to reinforce the authority and legitimacy of the emperors through ceremonies, acclamations, carrying imperial vestments, and standing at attention in the manner of a *silention*.[33] There is no evidence whatsoever that the Senate as a body exerted any effective control over any institutional organization that affected any degree of effective (as opposed to solely symbolic) political power.

Thus, when we come to examine Constans's speech in detail, we should view it in the light of the ceremonial and ritual context in which it was performed. Its purpose was not to celebrate the power of the Senate or the young emperor's gratitude to it; rather, it was intended as a stylized and scripted imperial performance to present to the assembled grandees the new legitimating narrative that they were expected to follow. The gifts that the emperor distributed after the ceremony should again not be seen as merely bribes for accepting this new narrative—although doubtless gift-giving greased the political wheels and supplied a material inducement to accept Constans's narrative—but as much or even more as a demonstration of the Senate's submission, the emperor's power to reward (and implicitly, to punish), and a reminder that the emperor was their patron.

Constans's speech, although short, nonetheless required a certain amount of nuance because Constans's own legitimacy as emperor rested on the same dynastic foundation as Heraclonas's and to undercut Heraclonas's legitimacy too deeply ran the risk of threatening Constans's own. Heraclius had crowned Heraclonas and named him in his will as a joint heir with his half-brother Heraclius Constantine, and indeed throughout the seventh century, primogeniture was subordinated to father and multiple-sibling, imperial colleges with predictably sanguinary results. Heraclius, as we have seen, crowned two sons as co-emperors with him. Heraclonas crowned his brother David at the same time as Constans, and Constans crowned not only his successor Constantine IV, but his sons Tiberius and Heraclius as well. The seeming dimming of primogeniture in this period consequently made imperial siblings actual or apparent political threats. Heraclius either feared or discovered a conspiracy of his brother Theodore and had him exiled in disgrace. The fraternal conflict in the wake of Heraclius's death was a significant threat to internal political stability and as has been previously mentioned, played a role in paralyzing or at least hindering effective Byzantine responses to the Arab threat. Constans considered his brother Theodosius sufficiently dangerous that he had him ordained and then murdered. Constantine IV disgraced and mutilated his brothers after an abortive army coup, and his son Justinian II re-mutilated them when he still considered them a threat after his father's death. In short, the seventh century was a very bad time for younger imperial siblings. But such fraternal ferocity also testifies to the political threat they posed; each generation had to reassert the rights of the elder line.

Consequently, Constans does not rest his case on primogeniture, although he implies the seniority of his father by emphasizing the lengthy co-rule of his father with his grandfather. More unusually for such apologetics, he makes no explicit claim that Heraclonas himself was a usurper, which was quite different than his grandfather's apologetic rhetoric regarding Phocas. Rather, he establishes his own legitimacy and rule by blaming his step-grandmother, Martina, and using her sins to undercut Heraclonas.

Constans first establishes Martina's villainy with the claim that she killed his father; it is noteworthy that Heraclonas himself is not accused because this is consistent with the prefatory narrative that, I would suggest, preceded the speech in the original document. But his polemic against Martina continues into rather dicey, Heraclian, family history that undercuts Heraclonas as well. Constans begins by referring to his uncle as "illegitimate." Leo Grammaticus reports, "Heraclonas, who was exceedingly unlawfully [*lian athesmos*] begot of her [Martina]"[34]; but Theophanes records, "Heraclonas, who was illegitimately [*athemitos*] begot of Heraclius and her."[35] The adverb *athemitos* and the inclusion of Heraclius argues that the version of Theophanes is the correct one. *Athemitos* is a technical legal term used in Justinian's *Novel* 154 to designate illegitimacy in the sphere of marriage, while *athesmos* is a rather more general term for unlawful found particularly in the Septuagint.[36] Given that one of the most telling arguments against Heraclonas's legitimacy was his parents' incestuous marriage—Martina was Heraclius's niece and even in Heraclius's lifetime, his marriage created political problems—it is likely that Constans's speech would employ a technical legal term for illegitimate marriage that would indirectly raise the sordid fact of Martina's incest both to condemn the marriage as well as delegitimate the queen regent and her offspring. Additionally, the implication of incest in Heraclonas's pedigree is further emphasized by listing both incestuous parents rather than simply Martina alone. The vocabulary and greater exactitude of the Theophanes version further argues that it more accurately preserved the source than Leo and that in fact, Leo is dependent on Theophanes. As was common in Byzantine historical composition, Leo adapted Theophanes's notice to meet his own rhetorical style and vocabulary.

The implication of incest led to another, more immediate and perhaps more persuasive argument against Heraclonas's legitimacy: the claim that it was not he that ruled, but his mother Martina. Indeed, the speech polemically focuses far more on Martina than on Heraclonas who is something of an afterthought: she murders Heraclius Constantine; she is the partner in an incestuous marriage; she was cast out of the empire "with her child" lest the empire suffer lawlessness [*eknomos*].[37] So what impropriety or lawlessness would the empire suffer under the purported rule of Martina?

Nicephorus records that Heraclius's will not only designated Heraclius Constantine and Heraclonas joint emperors, but enjoined both to respect Martina as their mother and empress.[38] Martina thereupon claimed the she "held the first place [*ta prota*] in the Empire," but was rebuffed by the assembled dignitaries and people who objected, "Let not God permit that the Roman state come to such an arrangement [*takseos*]."[39] Heraclius Constantine in fact exploited the outrage over Martina's presumption to cloister Martina in the palace and to establish his imperial seniority over his half-brother.

We would suggest that Constans's supporters, like Heraclius Constantine and his faction, exploited Martina's *gynarchia* to claim that he was restoring legal rule against his step-grandmother's usurpation rather than against the rule of his step-uncle, who had after all been crowned by Heraclius himself and had the same (or even better) dynastic pedigree of legitimacy as Constans himself.

But establishing his own legitimacy against his step-grandmother was only one half of Constans's task. There still remained the problem of establishing the legitimacy of his patron, Valentinus, and downplaying the military coup d'etat that brought him to power. The ritual venue of the speech, the Senate, was doubtless chosen to reinforce the legality of Constans's position, and to use the symbolic authority of the Senate to legitimate his rule just as his grandfather Heraclius had. Leo Grammaticus introduces his version of the speech by adding explicitly that the occasion of the speech was a *silention*, in which the empire's officialdom acknowledged the emperor's authority. At this time, furthermore, as John Haldon has pointed out, Senatorial personnel included the higher ranks of the military as well as the civilian apparatus. And there can be little doubt that Valentinus, Count of the Opsikion and of the Excubitors, participated in this particular *silention*, for as John Haldon has also noted, both offices were palatine appointments with headquarters at Constantinople.[40]

This is important because Theophanes's version contains an unexpected aside immediately after this attack on Heraclonas's pedigree. He continues:

> [Martina] whom, with her son, your godly decree [*psyphos*] very justly ejected from the Empire lest the Roman Empire know unlawfulness [*eknomos*]. Your superlative Magnificence understood this extremely well.[41]

This change from an address to the Senate to an address to a single individual is noted by Cyril Mango who suggests, "This appears to be addressed to a single person [the President of the Senate?]."[42] As usual, Mango's instincts are keen, although perhaps we can do better to identify the addressee than a vague and ill-defined officeholder. This shift to a singular individual is important because it was not only Constans who required legitimacy, but also his backer Valentinus. And, we would suggest that it was Valentinus to whom this aside was addressed in order that he receive official, imperial acknowledgment of his service to the emperor by the emperor. This interpretation of the speech would also explain why the preface to the speech, which we argue constitutes the previous year's entries, referred to "the Senate with Valentinus" as the parties responsible for ousting Heraclonas and Martina and establishing Constans on the throne. Thus, the ritual setting of the speech and the speech itself not only reinforced the legitimacy of Constans, but of Valentinus as well, a legitimacy that Valentinus would shortly cement by marrying his daughter to Constans. The Senatorial *silention* thus served as the ritual forum in which, on the one hand, Constans could present the official narrative and receive the acknowledgment of his authority and legitimacy by the assembled elites, but also in which on the other hand, Valentinus could establish his own credentials as the effective regent with an official imperial offer of gratitude and formal recognition of his defense of Constans's legitimacy and resistance against Martina's unlawful usurpation of power.

In the end, this speech reveals, we hope, a multilayered effort to establish a ritual and a discursive foundation for not only Constans's, but also his patron's legitimacy. The deposition of a member of the ruling dynasty, even by another member, required a deft touch to avoid delegitimating the dynasty itself, while at the same time, Valentinus needed to secure his regency over the minor Constans and his ascendency over potential, elite competitors. Although we have few details about how Valentinus went about this, the challenges to their authority implicit in Constans's speech reinforces Walter Kaegi's insight that the succession crisis of 641–642 diverted New Rome's attention away from the external threats of the Arabs and Slavs and redirected it toward the internal threats of illegitimacy, political instability, and, potentially, civil war. Until Constans was seated securely on the throne and Valentinus firmly established as regent, there could be no question of devising defenses against other threats.

NOTES

1. This chapter was initially delivered in a Byzantine Studies Conference session honoring the scholarly contributions and work of Walter E. Kaegi, Jr. I would like to thank the conference organizers and, in particular, Anthony Kaldellis, the program chair, for including these sessions honoring Prof. Kaegi, whose contributions to scholarship, not only as an interpreter of Byzantine history and literature, but as one

of the founders of this conference, have long deserved recognition. As for myself, for more than thirty years now, my own interests and scholarship have followed in the wake of Prof. Kaegi's own extensive and far-reaching understanding of seventh-century chronology and politics, and I am personally and professionally grateful to him for lighting the way for my work.

2. Walter Kaegi, *Byzantium and the Early Islamic Conquests* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992); idem, *Byzantine Military Unrest 471–843: An Interpretation* (Amsterdam and Las Palmas: A. M. Hakkert, 1981).

3. Kaegi, *Byzantine Military Unrest*, 158–59; see also Kaegi, *Byzantium and the Early Islamic Conquests*, 67–68.

4. P. Speck, *Das Geteilte Dossier. Beobachtungen zu den Nachrichten ueber die Regierung des Kaisers Herakleios und die seiner Soehne bei Theophanes und Nikephoros* [*Poikila Byzantina* 9] (Bonn: Dr. Rudolf Habelt GMBH, 1988), 440–50; Walter Kaegi, *Heraclius Emperor of Byzantium* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 90–95; Kaegi, *Byzantine Military Unrest*, 154–57, 169–72; J. Haldon, *Byantium in the Seventh Century: The Transformation of a Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 53, 129, 167; A. Stratos, *Byzantium in the Seventh Century*, vol. 2, trans. H. Hionides (Amsterdam: Hakkert, 1972), 175–205, 217–22. Speck asserts that the text is "ziemlich Korrupt" (441) and suggests several corrections to the text. The most important of these is the suggestion of a *lacuna* in the text, perhaps more than one, whose missing text he supplies. I have not adopted his emendations to the text.

5. Theophanes, *Chronographia*, vol. 1, ed. C. de Boor (Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1963), 342.

6. Speck, *Dossier*, 445–50.

7. Cf. the brief comment of Haldon, *Transformation*, 53, on the enhanced role of the Senate in the seventh century; for the role of *silentia* in and as court ritual, see A. Christophilopoulou, "Silention," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 44 (1951): 71–85; O. Treitinger, *Die ostroemische Kaiser- und Reichsidee nach ihrer Gestaltung im hoefischen Zeremoniell* (Jena: Verlag der Frommannschen Buuchhandlung Walter Biederman, 1938), 52–54. See also below.

8. Nicephorus, *Short History* [*Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae* 13], ed. C. Mango (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks, 1990), 76–84. The incomplete condition of Nicephorus's narrative is discussed briefly by Mango in his introduction (14–15), but no entirely satisfactory explanation has been suggested.

9. Joannes Zonaras, *Epitome of History*, vol. 1, ed. J. Gregoriades (Athens: *Ekdoseis Kanake*, 1995), 312–14; George the Monk, *Chronicon*, vol. 2, ed. P. Wirth (Stuttgart: Teubner, 1978), 673, 697.

10. Michael the Syrian, *Chronicle*, vol. 2, trans. J.-B. Chabot (Paris: Culture et Civilisation, 1901 [1963]), 430.

11. Leo Grammaticus, *Chronographia*, ed. I. Bekker (Bonn: Ed. Weber, 1842), 157.

12. George Cedrenus, *Synopsis of History*, vol. 1, ed. I. Bekker (Bonn: Ed. Weber, 1838), 754.

13. See D. Olster, "Theophanes's Chronology and His Syriac Sources," *Byzantinische Forschungen* 19 (1993): 215–28.

14. Theophanes, *Chronographia*, 341. This anomalous piece of information is the capture of Caesarea by Moawija in 641/642. It is added to begin the year, but it is nothing more than a simple notice and is succeeded by the relatively detailed narrative (by mid-seventh-century standards) of the overthrow of Heraclonas and Martina.

15. Ibid.

16. Nicephorus, 78, 80.

17. Theophanes, *Chronographia*, 341–42.

18. Ibid., 342.

19. Theophanes employed the same sort of editing of a narrative text without dates into several years' worth of Persian conquests earlier in the century; see D. Olster, *The Politics of Usurpation in the Seventh Century: Rhetoric and Revolution in Byzantium* (Amsterdam: Adolf Hakkert, 1993), 81–97.

20. Cf. Speck, *Dossier*, 425–33. Unfortunately, proposing this source for Theophanes gets us no closer to discovering Nicephorus's source, but that is beyond the scope of this chapter.

21. J. Haldon, *Byzantine Praetorians: An Administrative, Institutional and Social Survey of the Opsikion and Tagmata, c. 580–900* [*Poikila Byzantina* 3] (Bonn: Dr. Rudolf Habelt GMBH, 1984), 174.

22. See Kaegi, *Military Unrest*, 155–58, for a brief summary of his career.

23. The term *hypospistes* is a peculiar expression that Mango translates as adjutant (*Short History*, 79). But if in fact Valentinus was the Count of the Opsikion corps, it is highly unlikely that he was the subordinate of Philagrius. I think that it would be better to think of this term as a literary allusion to its literal meaning—shield bearer—and consider rather that Valentinus was not the subordinate, but the military ally of the civilian Philagrius. John of Nikiu, whose narrative is both corrupt and confusing, nonetheless describes a very similar course of events in which Valentinus is clearly the colleague rather than the subordinate of Philagrius: John of Nikiu, *The Chronicle of John (c. 690 A.D.): Coptic Bishop of Nikiu, Being a History of Egypt before and during the Arab Conquest*, trans. R. H. Charles (Amsterdam: APA-Philo Press, 1981 [1916]), 192, 196.

24. John of Nikiu, *The Chronicle of John*, 197.

25. Pseudo-Sebeos, *The Armenian History Attributed to Sebeos*, trans. R. Thomson/commentary J. Howard-Johnston/T. Greenwood (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1999), 1: 104, 2: 249–50. Pseudo-Sebeos simply states that Valentinus brought the army to Constantinople and overthrew Martina and Heraclonas. Pseudo-Sebeos is by no means a dependable source for Constantinopolitan events in 641–42. Nonetheless, it is noteworthy that he clearly is not drawing on the chronicle tradition following Theophanes which is parallel (but not necessarily dependent in this particular notice) to the Syriac tradition found in Michael the Syrian.

26. Cf. the comments on the role of the Senate in the succession crisis by Speck, *Das geteile Dossier*, 446–47; and Haldon, *Tranformation*, 167.

27. Haldon, *Transformation*, 129, 397.

28. *Paschal Chronicle*, vol. 1, ed. L. Dindorf (Bonn: Ed. Weber, 1832), 707. See also the comments of Kaegi, *Heraclius*, 83. Kaegi rightly notes that a Senatorial embassy might have elided the diplomatic problem that Chosroes did not recognize

Heraclius as emperor. But it is also possible that Heraclius, recently defeated in Syria, might not have publicly wished to acknowledge his desperate position by suing for peace himself and used the Senate as a convenient fiction to distance himself from the appearance of political and military weakness.

29. Haldon, *Transformation*, 304–13.

30. See ibid., 167, for the source references for Phocas, Heraclius, Heraclius Constantine, and Constans II.

31. For Heraclonas, see Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus, *Two Books on the Ceremonies of the Byzantine Court*, vol. 1, ed. J. Reiske (Bonn: Ed. Weber, 1829), 627–28. It is noteworthy that the Senate also acclaimed the emperor in the Hippodrome before the Constantinopolitan crowd.

32. Olster, *The Politics of Usurpation*, 130. It is not coincidental that the Count of the Excubitors was as instrumental in Phocas's overthrow as in the overthrow of Heraclonas.

33. In addition to these symbolic acts of recognizing imperial authority and legitimacy, the Senate also acclaimed the emperor in the Hippodrome before the Constantinopolitan crowd; see Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus, *Ceremonies*, 628.

34. Leo Grammaticus, *Chronographia*, 157.

35. Theophanes, *Chronographia*, 342.

36. Justinian, *Novellae* [*Corpus Iuris Civilis*, vol. 3], ed. R. Schoell, 6th edn (Berlin: Weidmann, 1973), 729.

37. Theophanes, *Chronographia*, 342.

38. Nicephorus, 78.

39. Ibid., 80.

40. Haldon, *Byzantine Praetorians*, 178–79.

41. Theophanes, *Chronographia*, 342.

42. Theophanes, *The Chronicle of Theophanes Confessor*, trans. C. Mango and R. Scott (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 476.

Part II

POLITICAL/INSTITUTIONAL

Chapter 5

Reimagining the Ties between the House of Nubel and the Donatist Church in Late Roman North Africa

Nathan Leidholm

The following study is based on my master's thesis, the first research project I undertook under the direction of Walter Kaegi. His insights and knowledge had a tremendous impact on the work, as on all my subsequent work. Walter's attention to detail and encyclopedic knowledge of the sources, from many periods and in an impressive number of languages, were both an inspiration and an invaluable tool in my development as a young scholar. I owe him an enormous debt of gratitude for his guidance and tutelage over many years.

The last quarter of the fourth century CE saw two separate, though profoundly connected, periods of turmoil in Roman North Africa. First Firmus and then Gildo, brothers of mixed Roman and native North African descent and deeply involved in Romano-African politics, were at the head of these respective upheavals, both of which resulted in military action and the eventual deaths of both men. These episodes have been variably described by modern historians as proto-nationalist uprisings, attempted imperial usurpations, or simply typical Roman political maneuvers gone awry. Recent scholarship has come to view the actions of both Firmus and Gildo as the latter.[1] But while the political and military nature of these revolts has been an open topic of debate through the years, the involvement of the Donatist Church in Roman North Africa and the brothers' support thereof have been largely taken for granted.[2]

This chapter aims to clarify the relationship between both Firmus and Gildo and the Donatist Church and, in doing so, to show that modern scholarship has too quickly assumed an active role of mutual support between the North African family and the schismatic Christian sect. It does so in three parts: by examining the nature of Firmus's and Gildo's revolts, exploring the evidence for the personal religious beliefs of various members of this family, and, finally, investigating the specific evidence for any sort of collaboration between these two men and the Donatist Church.

THE UPRISINGS OF FIRMUS AND GILDO

Firmus and Gildo were two of several sons of Nubel, an important figure in Roman Africa known from both literary and epigraphic evidence.[3] Ammianus recognized Nubel as a *regulus per nationes Mauricas potentissimus*, seemingly stressing the man's native North African status.[4] A fairly well-known inscription, however, records Nubel (here named Flavius Nuvel) as having been the son of a man of senatorial class and himself a *praepositus* of the *equites armigeri iuniores*, a division of the Roman field army in Africa.[5] Like their father before them, both Firmus and Gildo were deeply involved in imperial political circles, even within the imperial household itself, and acted as intermediaries between Rome and the local population. For most of the fourth century, the family appears to have controlled large tracts of Roman North Africa from Mauritania Caesariensis to Numidia through Roman political channels.[6]

When violence broke out between himself and Roman authorities in 372–373, Firmus's precise position in Roman Africa is unknown, but he had clients in close contact with the emperor in Italy. It was only through the intrigues of Romanus, the *Comes Africae*, that Firmus was declared an enemy of the empire.[7] The animosity between the two men came to physical blows after Firmus slew a certain Sammac (or Zammac), who was not only another of Nubel's sons but also a close friend of the *Comes*.[8] Like most else concerning Firmus's uprising, the circumstances surrounding this apparent act of murder remain obscure and open to conjecture. Romanus was himself quite unpopular in Roman Africa, as Ammianus attests. He details the severe punishments meted out to Romanus's associates by Theodosius the Elder, who had been sent to Africa not only to quell Firmus's revolt but also to deal with the troublesome *Comes*.[9] Rome's response to the unrest was swift and efficient, probably a testament to the importance of North Africa to the grain supply in Rome rather than an indicator of the scope of the uprising. Firmus and his followers attacked and occupied several cities, largely in the coastal regions where Rome's presence was felt most.[10] There is little indication that Firmus was seeking to assume any sort of imperial power, and contentions in any source indicating such aspirations are best viewed as rhetorical fiction.[11]

Sammac, like his brother, apparently occupied a position straddling the Roman and autochthonous North African social and political worlds. In his history, Ammianus describes an estate called Petra, which he says had been fortified "like a city" and originally built by a certain Salmaces.[12] The site partially survives to this day, including an inscription that names the estate as *Praedium Sammacis*.[13] The inscription displays a declaration of solidarity with Rome, which is consistent with Ammianus's assertion that "Zammac" had been a close associate of Firmus's rival, the *Comes* Romanus.[14] While Theodosius the Elder apparently stormed and destroyed the estate at Petra in his campaign against Firmus, it is reasonable to assume that the estate was in Firmus's hands as a result of his brother's death.[15]

Mascezel, yet another son of Nubel, who would later lead the imperial forces that would put down Gildo's uprising, first fought openly against imperial troops as an ally of Firmus.[16] He was in Italy at the time that Gildo was declared a *hostis publicus* of Rome in 397, and it was from there that he set out to defeat his brother.[17] Both Sammac and Mascezel further attest the deep connection the family maintained with the Roman Empire and its politics, which runs contrary to past claims that Firmus and Gildo were local African chieftains seeking to wrest control of the African provinces from Roman hands.

Gildo is perhaps the best documented of any individual within the house of Nubel. In the episode of violence between Rome and Firmus, Gildo led a corps of troops against his brother as an ally of Theodosius and the imperial forces, as did another supposed brother, Maximus.[18] Roughly a decade later, sometime in 385 or 386, Emperor Theodosius I appointed Gildo as *Comes Africae*, in part because of his contribution against Firmus's rebellion.[19] This put him in the most powerful position in all of Roman Africa and demonstrates the intimate ties between Gildo and the court of Theodosius in Constantinople.[20]

The precise nature of the ties between the emperor Theodosius I and Gildo has occasionally been questioned by modern scholars. For instance, Oost notes that the African provinces continued to supply Rome with grain shipments (the *annona*) during the revolt of Eugenius in 392–394 and did not send troops to aid the emperor Theodosius in his campaigns against the rebel.[21] Theodosius, however, may not have asked for any such support from Gildo. Instead, it is entirely plausible that Gildo did, in fact, serve the purpose to which the emperor had set him; namely, "to hold Africa in Theodosius' interests."[22] Sometime before December 393, Theodosius rewarded Gildo with the additional title of *magister utriusque militiae per Africam*, and, even at the death of Theodosius in 395, Gildo remained closely aligned with Arcadius and the court at Constantinople.[23]

In his role as *Comes Africae*, Gildo was directly in control of Roman military forces present in North Africa and answered directly to the emperor; there was no *vicarius* overseeing him.[24] It is a testament to the close ties between the two men that Theodosius chose Gildo in a period of extreme internal and external conflict within the empire. In fact, immediately after the defeat of Gildo, the power of the *Comes* was reduced and put under the jurisdiction of the *magister praesentalis*,[25] and in 401 Stilicho appointed his own brother-in-law, Bathanarius, to the position in an apparent attempt to strengthen central control over the African provinces.[26] While some have seen the appointment of non-African officials in these positions as part of an overarching anti-Donatist policy, one can just as easily interpret them as actions intended simply to keep a tighter reign on an area of the empire vital to its grain supply.[27]

Gildo was declared a public enemy of Rome in 397, largely at the behest of the regent general Stilicho. Though there is some apparent confusion in the sources, it remains possible that Gildo intended to realign the African provinces with the government at Constantinople and that this action was then taken at the behest of the eastern capital. As Blackhurst has noted, Gildo's interdiction of the grain supply to Italy, if it occurred at all, followed the eastern senate's vote declaring Stilicho a public enemy in summer 397.[28] In his *De Bello Gildonico*, Claudian seems to suggest that Arcadius had allowed himself to be taken in by Gildo, as if the African had instigated the entire affair, and, though he makes clear some connection between Constantinople and the son of Nubel, the poet avoids placing too much blame on Arcadius, his powerful courtier Eutropius, or the eastern court.[29] Part of the motivation behind this poem's composition, however, was a certain degree of reconciliation between the feuding eastern and western portions of the empire.[30] Claudian paints a different picture of events in *De Consulatu Stilichonis* (On the Consulship of Stilicho). At the time of this poem's delivery (January 400), unlike the previous instance, Eutropius, Arcadius's chief advisor, was already dead, and reconciliation with Constantinople was no longer a concern.[31] As a result, the eastern court is portrayed as much more culpable in the entire event. Claudian contends that orders were issued from Constantinople requesting that Gildo cut off Rome's grain supply, which Gildo may or may not have done.[32] An extant letter from Symmachus to Stilicho in the same year offers further evidence that Honorius and Arcadius were in dialogue concerning Gildo.[33] Claudian also mentions Stilicho's attempts at bringing Illyria under the sway of Ravenna, a direct affront to Constantinople.[34] If true, it would follow that Arcadius would seek to strengthen his ties with Gildo in Africa, thereby striking a serious blow to his western rival.

Constantinople's involvement is also suggested by the work of Zosimus. The early Byzantine historian records how Eutropius convinced the eastern senate to declare Stilicho an enemy of the state and, immediately thereafter, made a point of befriending Gildo in Africa.[35] If Zosimus's chronology is correct, it removes a significant portion of culpability for the unrest in Africa from Gildo, making him less of an independent usurper and more a political pawn of Arcadius in his struggle with Stilicho. Gildo reportedly attempted to flee by sea just before his final defeat, though he failed because of unfavorable winds.[36] This was perhaps an attempt to seek refuge in the eastern empire, where he still had friends and allies.[37]

The length and severity of Gildo's revolt itself suggest that he sought neither an independent kingdom in North Africa nor the aid of the Donatist Church. In the past, there has been a tendency to overestimate the disruption caused by his actions. Claudian declares Africa had been under the rule of Gildo for twelve years, but this simply refers to his tenure as *Comes Africae*, not to any sort of antagonistic actions against the empire or to any period of outright revolt.[38] Gildo did not detach himself from Rome until late in the summer of 397, at which point Symmachus, the *praefectus urbi* in Rome, complains of a dire shortage of grain in Rome because of Gildo's cessation of the *annona*.[39] According to most estimates, Gildo was defeated and killed in late February or early March of 398.[40] If one believes Orosius's account, Mascezel managed to rout Gildo's troops with only a small expeditionary force with scarcely a blow being exchanged.[41] In Augustine's rhetoric, Gildo's revolt appears to be more widespread and dangerous than that of Firmus, which is unlikely. The geographic area directly affected by the outbreak of violence was relatively limited.[42] Both Augustine and Claudian had good reason to exaggerate the severity of Gildo's uprising, either to provoke government intervention in Roman Africa (Augustine) or to glorify his patron (Claudian).[43]

Andy Blackhurst has convincingly argued that, far from the traditional image of them as usurpers or African nationalists, Nubel and his sons are best viewed as political players *within* the existing political framework of the late Roman Empire.[44] More recent work by Brent Shaw confirms this view.[45] Firmus's status as a "rebel" was really only through the lobbying and maneuvering of Romanus,[46] while Gildo's actions can scarcely be described as an open revolt against the empire as a whole.[47] Even the armies fielded by each of the brothers were largely made up of Roman troops of varying types who were theirs to command as a result of their positions in the imperial political machine.[48]

Understanding these periods of upheaval as internal Roman political strife, rather than some sort of pseudo-nationalist uprisings, not only places them in a more accurate context, it also removes one of the main lines of arguments linking them with the Donatist Church. Yet modern scholars need not rely solely on this sort of speculation to come to such conclusions.

THE CHRISTIANITY OF THE HOUSE OF NUBEL

The family's active role within Roman politics and power structures over several generations should immediately caution against assumptions of Donatist sympathies among Nubel or his sons. The inscription at Rusguniae records that Nubel had been a *praepositus*, a position which granted its bearer a significant amount of power.[49] Not only was the power of granting such positions reserved for higher Roman officials, the position also included significant land grants, giving the *praepositus* an immediate connection and obligation of fealty to the wider empire.[50] Nubel could only maintain his position of power as long as he remained in the favor of Rome and her officials posted in Africa. It is difficult to imagine that Nubel would himself be an active supporter of the schismatic Donatist Church, especially in an area such as Africa, which was plagued by sectarian violence.

Yet, beyond their military or political maneuvers, there is significant evidence that the family of Nubel personally practiced orthodox Christianity. The fact that Nubel established a church housing a piece of the true cross appears to contradict any accusation that he maintained close ties to the Donatist Church.[51] From its first known mention in the sermons of Cyril of Jerusalem in the late 340s, the cult was strongly associated "with the religious ideology of the house of Constantine."[52] In Shaw's words, such a foundation is "almost certainly an indication that he was an orthodox Catholic."[53]

During the uprising of Firmus, Ammianus records Firmus's use of priests as envoys to Theodosius the Elder during an episode of a successful parlay.[54] While we cannot be sure, one can perhaps safely assume that Firmus would not send Donatist priests with his hostages and offers of peace.[55] In fact, Firmus's revolt appears to have been largely an attempt to buy himself time to discredit the *Comes Africae* Romanus in order to clear his own name rather than any sort of attempt at usurpation. While some have claimed that Firmus envisioned an independent North Africa with Donatist Church as its centerpiece, such arguments rely on outdated interpretations of both the Donatist Church and the revolt itself.[56] Firmus's actions appear rather as competitive maneuverings within the Roman political framework. Acknowledging this also means acknowledging the likelihood that Firmus's personal beliefs were more than likely in line with those of empire. By all indications, Firmus probably held out hopes of regaining some place within the Roman imperial system until quite late in his campaign against Theodosius, hopes that may not have been unfounded considering the punishments meted out to close associates of the *Comes* Romanus and even to Theodosius the Elder himself.

The anonymous *Passio Salsae*, which credits St. Salsa with saving the settlement of Tipasa from the possible ravages of Firmus, may also suggest that Firmus himself was an orthodox Christian. The author recounts how Firmus sought the aid of the thirteen-year-old saint when attacking the city, but she instead spared the city and routed the African prince and his forces.[57] While this story cannot be independently verified, we do know from the account of Ammianus that Theodosius the Elder encountered allies of Firmus near the city, and a shrine to St. Salsa survives in Tipasa to this day.[58]

Evidence is even stronger for Gildo. Numerous sources mention Gildo's close personal affiliation with the emperor Theodosius and his court at Constantinople. In fact, his daughter Salvina (or Silvina) was married to a certain Nebridius, the nephew of Theodosius's first wife, Flacilla, and resided in Constantinople.[59] Nebridius appears to have had a significant amount of influence in the eastern capital, and Salvina herself became quite well known for her piety. Jerome mentions her as an example of a good Christian widow in one of his letters, and he even addresses an entire letter to her, consoling her on the loss of her husband.[60] In one of these letters, Jerome lists her Gildonian lineage proudly, seemingly in order to emphasize her high social status.[61] Perhaps most telling of all is that Salvina is known to have been a personal adherent and perhaps even a close friend of John Chrysostom.[62] In Palladius's *Dialogue*, Salvina is listed among a small group of women with whom Chrysostom was apparently familiar. According to the account, the bishop, who is about to depart into exile, admonishes the women to continue in their goodwill toward the church and to follow his successor bishop as they had followed him.[63] In the same passage, Palladius also echoes the sentiment found in Jerome's letters, being sure to highlight the exemplary widowhood of Gildo's daughter. There can be no mistake that Salvina was an ardent adherent to the orthodox belief system and was quite well known because of it. Of course, one cannot ascribe Salvina's personal religion onto her father, but it is reasonable to contend that Gildo's own religious sentiments did not much differ from his daughter's, especially since he maintained such close ties with Constantinople up to and even during his uprising.[64]

Significantly after his death, Gildo's body was evidently interred at an orthodox church.[65] This information comes down to us via the *Gesta* of the ecumenical council held at Carthage in 411, which was intended to finally decide the issue between the orthodox and Donatist churches in North Africa. A certain Aurelius, an orthodox *episcopus* from Macomadia, makes note of the fact that the body of Gildo was currently housed at the orthodox basilica of Lamzelli.[66] The significance of this piece of evidence cannot be underestimated. Gildo had been killed roughly thirteen years before the Council of Carthage was held, and these thirteen years saw some of the most intense competition between the two rival churches in Africa. Clearly the orthodox clergy were aware that Gildo's body was interred in one of their own basilicas, as it is an orthodox bishop who declares it so in the *Gesta*. If Gildo had personally aligned himself with the Donatist Church or was even widely accepted as having given them active support during his time in power, it is hard to imagine that the orthodox Christians of the region would knowingly allow his body to be housed in one of their own sacred buildings.

Finally, Gildo's brother and eventual vanquisher, Mascezel, reportedly brought orthodox monks from the island of Capraria with him when he returned to Africa from Italy at the head of an army to crush Gildo.[67] As mentioned above, Mascezel was already in Italy at the time of the initial outbreak of hostilities between Gildo and Rome.[68] Though it is unclear, he may have been visiting the Italian peninsula for the joint purpose of gaining political support and making some sort of religious pilgrimage. Alan Cameron has suggested that Mascezel may have been trying to gain the support of orthodox Christians at Milan in the hopes of bettering his own place in Roman politics, as Stilicho's popularity with the group was in serious decline. This is the partial reasoning, says Cameron, behind Stilicho's decision to have Mascezel killed after successfully defeating his brother, Gildo.[69] According to Orosius's account, Mascezel also received a vision of St. Ambrose on the eve of Gildo's defeat near Theveste.[70] Orosius, at least, held Mascezel in high regard and maintained a memory of the man as a champion of both the empire and of orthodox Christianity. During Firmus's revolt, Mascezel is recorded as recruiting troops from the frontier regions in the southern portions of Roman North Africa.[71] The probable use of similar sources of troops has been part of many arguments attempting to link either Firmus or Gildo to the Donatist Church, since it was in these areas that the schismatic church held the most sway.[72] A similar line of reasoning, however, cannot be ascribed to Mascezel, thereby rendering such arguments about Firmus or Gildo equally unsatisfactory. While it is entirely possible, even plausible, that Firmus or Gildo may have been willing to accept the support of troops or even clergy with Donatist sympathies if the situation called for it, this kind of political expediency (quintessentially Roman) cannot be used to argue for personal or systemic ties between the sons of Nubel and the Donatist Church, especially when such arguments remain hypothetical.

Taken as a whole and placed in their political context, there is more than enough evidence to suggest that Nubel and his descendants were firmly within the orthodox Church's sphere of influence. Still, the personal religious leanings of relatives or even of Firmus or Gildo themselves cannot alone refute contentions of a close relationship between either of them and the Donatist Church during their respective revolts. A close examination of the evidence typically used to support such connections, however, reveals serious shortcomings.

FIRMUS, GILDO, AND THE DONATISTS

Nearly all modern literature on the subject presents both Firmus and Gildo as having close ties to the Donatist Church in Africa.[73] The few works from the early part of the twentieth century that deal with the case of either Firmus or Gildo almost without exception describe their actions in terms of African nationalistic movements, of which the Donatist Church was viewed as a powerful manifestation.[74] Scholarship of the mid-twentieth century was heavily influenced by the work of W. H. C. Frend, who described the revolt of Firmus as an indigenous uprising intended to usurp power in North Africa and establish a kingdom independent from Rome. In such a kingdom, he argued, "Donatism would have been the religion and motive force."[75] Other authors largely followed this line of reasoning for both Firmus and Gildo.[76]

More recent work has moved away from such anachronistic contentions, but the actions taken by Firmus and Gildo still tend to be interpreted as outright attempts at seizing imperial power, and their ties with the Donatist Church continue to be taken for granted.[77] Peter Brown is one of the few scholars who questions this assumption, alluding to likely exaggerations of the Donatist-Gildonian ties in Augustine's literature, though it receives just a passing mention.[78] More recently, Brent Shaw has made the argument more forcefully. He finds arguments connecting Firmus and his revolt with Donatists "unconvincing" and those regarding Gildo and the Donatists equally unsatisfactory.[79] Despite Shaw's assessment, however, an assumed connection between the rebels and the Donatist Church continues to make appearances.[80]

The letters and treatises of Augustine of Hippo are the chief sources suggesting Donatist ties to Firmus and Gildo, and his biases and objectives have heavily colored modern scholarship. A small handful of instances in which Augustine politicizes his anti-Donatist polemics by linking violent factions of the church to Firmus or Gildo have led scholars to assume the existence of close ties between the sons of Nubel and the Donatists, and some have even gone so far as to claim that the brothers were themselves devout Donatists, while evidence refuting such claims has been largely ignored. Claudian, a court poet whose works *De Bello Gildonico* and *De Consulatu Stilichonis* offer valuable evidence of the western empire's response to the unrest in Africa, primarily sought to glorify Stilicho, his patron. Making it appear as though Stilicho had quelled a dangerous and potentially catastrophic rebellion suited the poet's purposes.

These outbreaks of political violence may have coincided with an increase in Donatist aggression, as suggested in the letters of Augustine, but there has been a tendency to oversimplify this connection. The extant evidence for active, mutual support between Firmus and Gildo and the Donatist Church is scant and relies heavily on circumstance. In the case of Firmus, this connection amounts to little more than a brief, vague mention in a few of Augustine's letters. Concerning Gildo's uprising, this episode certainly was beneficial for certain circles within the Donatist Church, especially Optatus of Timgad (Thamugadi) and his followers, but there is little indication in surviving sources of close ties or conscious support between Gildo and the Donatist bishop.

Some have tried to find such evidence in the *Codex Theodosianus*. Courtois, for example, claims that the *transeuntes* referred to in *CTh* 7.8.7 (regulating the seizure of Gildo's properties) should be interpreted as *circumcelliones*, those notorious Donatist extremists known for being particularly violent.[81] J. E. Atikinson, however, has argued that this is not the case, and the passage instead refers to "troops in transit across imperial estates."[82] This interpretation seems more likely, as Gildo, in his positions of *Comes Africae* and *magister utriusque militiae per Africam*, had large numbers of troops at his disposal, and there are no edicts recorded in the *Codex* in which an explicit connection is made between Gildo and the Donatist Church.

The question of who or what, exactly, were the *circumcelliones* is an issue still open to debate, and these broader questions are beyond the scope of this study.[83] Generally speaking, the term referred to bands of young men associated with the Donatist Church and who were recorded as violent, perhaps even militant seekers of martyrdom. *Circumcelliones* were known in Roman North Africa throughout the fourth century. The orthodox bishop Optatus of Milevis (not to be confused with the Donatist bishop of Timgad) records multiple occasions of bands of militant Donatists assailing various orthodox individuals and even styling themselves saints.[84] Augustine frequently mentions these *circumcelliones* in his works dealing with the Donatists, although his tendency to exaggerate Donatist violence and disruption is well known.[85] Recent scholarship has described these shadowy figures as agricultural laborers who may even have acted as paid enforcers utilized by Donatist clergy in the absence of state support.[86] Yet descriptions of their activities and extremism in surviving sources, almost universally hostile, must be read through the lens of rhetorical opposition. Additionally, as Augustine hints in his treatise *Contra Cresconium*, their activities neither began nor ended with Firmus or Gildo.[87] Aside from more general associations with illicit violence and the possible use of some private militia forces, there is no solid evidence linking the *circumcelliones* with either of them.[88]

Several imperial edicts targeting the Donatist schism were issued in the aftermath of both Firmus and Gildo's revolts. As they survive in the *Codex Theodosianus*, those edicts that were in place prior to Gildo, however, do not seem to have been enforced in Africa. According to Boyd, those anti-Donatist edicts enacted under Valentinian and Gratian were not actively enforced outside of Italy.[89] Under Theodosius I, too, much of the anti-heretical legislation already in force was probably not consistently or actively enforced in the African provinces either.[90] The few anti-Donatist edicts that were enacted in the aftermath of Firmus's defeat, such as *CTh* 16.6.2 (enacted Oct. 377), are better understood as part of a program to tighten control of the vital African provinces in the wake of the revolt rather than any sort of punishment for aiding Firmus.

Between 392 and 395, there was an increase in anti-Donatist legislation, but this seems to have been independent of any action on the part of Gildo. At this point he still maintained close ties with Constantinople and open hostilities had not yet broken out.[91] The anti-Donatist edicts enacted after Gildo's defeat do not appear until around 405, at the beginning of Stilicho's second consulship and over seven years after Gildo's death. It was not until this year that Donatists were officially declared heretics, probably because of their practice of re-baptizing and at the behest of increased orthodox pressure.[92] In fact, both during and immediately after Gildo's uprising, anti-heretical edicts involving North Africa single out only Manicheans, neglecting to mention Donatists.[93] The edicts presented in the *Codex* that deal with the immediate aftermath of Gildo's defeat proscribe punishment for his allies and the confiscation of his considerable lands, but say nothing at all concerning the Donatist Church.[94]

Gildo possessed very large tracts of land, which were subsequently confiscated after his defeat.[95] There was so much land, in fact, that a new position, the *Comes Patrimonii Gildoniaci*, was created to oversee its appropriation into the imperial *patrimonium*.[96] Some scholars have combined this knowledge with a passage in Claudian's *De Bello Gildonico* to suggest that Gildo instituted some kind of land reform as a payment to Donatist *circumcelliones* for their support.[97] Matthews, however, disagrees with this contention, stating that Claudian's assertion was probably just a "stock accusation" used against someone he was trying to brand a *tyrannus*.[98] It should come as no surprise that someone such as Gildo, who had held the position of both *Comes Africae* and *magister utriusque militiae* and came from such a powerful family, would possess very large estates.

In his letters and various other works, Augustine makes very little mention of Firmus, an understandable phenomenon considering Gildo's later revolt was contemporary to the bishop's own time and very much in local memory. That does not, however, mean that Firmus is completely without mention. For instance, in *Ep*. 87, Augustine accuses a certain Donatist bishop of Rucata (Rusicada) of agreeing to give up the city to the rebellious chieftain, allowing the slaughter of the orthodox inhabitants of the settlement.[99] In the same letter, there is a mention of a supposed Donatist tendency to refer to those within the church who opposed Rogatus as "Firmiani," but this label cannot be used retroactively to attach a Donatist affiliation to Firmus.[100] Augustine was writing after the failure and death of Firmus, and the bishop was clearly labeling the Donatists as enemies of Rome. Firmus appears to have resorted to violence only after he failed to discredit Romanus, whose corrupt policies of over-taxation and personal friends in Ravenna had led to the initial outbreak of hostilities.[101] If Firmus maintained hopes of clearing his name and returning to imperial service, he had little to gain by actively garnering the support of the schismatic Donatists. Even after Theodosius's arrival in Africa, the rebel attempted to broker peace several times.[102] It is unlikely that Firmus would have given the Donatists his open support without additional incentives, and he would have had very little to gain by slaughtering orthodox Christians.[103]

A similar problem of interpretation exists regarding the presence of Gildo in Augustine's works. The bishop of Hippo almost never mentions Gildo independently from the Donatist bishop Optatus of Timgad (Thamugadi). Indeed, the only time Gildo is mentioned by name is as an appellation attached to Optatus ("Optatus Gildonianus").[104] This is a recurring theme in numerous of Augustine's letters and anti-Donatist polemics, demonstrating the real animosity between the bishop of Hippo and Optatus, who is described as particularly powerful and violent. We have ample evidence for the influence wielded independently by Optatus and his followers, but the supposed link to Gildo rests on much less solid ground.

According to Frend, Optatus was a violent revolutionary, solely controlled southern Numidia for a period of roughly ten years (388–398), and likely built one of the largest ever cathedrals in Africa.[105] Although the violence that has been attributed to the Donatist bishop is almost surely exaggerated, Augustine records numerous occasions on which the Donatist bishop personally led armed bands, often called *circumcelliones*, in attacking rival Donatists or others.[106] Augustine speaks of the widespread terror and destruction throughout large swaths of Africa perpetrated by Optatus and his followers.[107] The bishop of Hippo refers to this violence taking place "in the Firmian war" (*bello Firmiano*) or "in Gildo's time" (*tempore Gildoniano*), once again associating the Donatist Church with periods of violence, but he avoids making the actual accusation that either man had any direct involvement with the Donatists.[108]

A common mistake among modern observers is the conflation of acts of violence and destruction attributed to Optatus of Timgad with those of Gildo. It appears that Optatus wielded significant power by virtue of his position in the Donatist clergy and perhaps his formidable oratory, and violence between Donatists and other Christian sects was hardly a new phenomenon by the 390s in North Africa. In a period of general upheaval as occurred during the last few years of Gildo's control of Roman Africa, there existed the opportunity for Donatist clergy or violent extremists to take bold action in an attempt to further their own causes. There is, however, no reliable indication of Gildo's involvement in any of these acts.

In his treatise against the Donatist grammarian Cresconius, Augustine refers to Optatus and his followers as satellites of Gildo, and in another he claims that the name of Optatus “is no less notorious than Gildo,” but these short phrases are little more than devices meant to demonize the Donatist bishop.[109] In a telling example, throughout his treatise *Contra Litteras Petiliani*, Augustine reiterates the same phrase many times, accusing the notorious bishop of Timgad of having a *Comes* for his god, rather than the rightful Christian God.[110] Whatever the exact nature or origin of the conflict, Gildo had been defeated, making him just another fallen enemy of Rome as far as many Romans were concerned. As both Peter Brown and Brent Shaw have pointed out, it is typical of Augustinian rhetoric to make Optatus and Gildo appear to have been in league, making this another example of what Brown calls Augustine’s “ruthless journalism.”[111] In fact, Augustine never once mentions having knowledge of an actual meeting between Gildo and Optatus or any sort of joint venture undertaken by them. He admits in his own words that nearly all that he knows of the infamous bishop of Timgad comes from rumor and hearsay.[112] This undoubtedly includes his accusation that Gildo and Optatus were personal friends.[113] When he refers to attacks on the orthodox community made by the Donatist bishop of Timgad or his roving bands of *circumcelliones*, there is no mention of Gildo being present or even having any knowledge of these actions.[114]

Augustine used the name of Gildo to demonize Optatus and the Donatists to provoke a government response from Ravenna, which worked in favor of the orthodox Church in Africa.[115] Calling the bishop “Gildonian” was akin to calling him an enemy of Rome. It says nothing about the nature of Gildo’s rebellion or his religious affiliations. In no other sources does one find any connection between Donatists and Gildo, and Augustine clearly had much to gain by equating the Donatist Church with a perceived imperial usurper in the wake of his defeat. At the turn of the fifth century, orthodox and Donatist clergy in Africa engaged in a war of words, in which the orthodox strategy was to “discredit the Donatist leadership and tradition” and to “win over the Latin-speaking minority.”[116] The names of Firmus and Gildo, public enemies who had perished for their offenses, were potent tools in the orthodox arsenal.

The Donatists maintained a strong presence in Africa until well after the Council of Carthage in 411, at which point imperial policy became irrevocably opposed.[117] Before then, imperial governments appear to have been willing to leave the Donatist Church well enough alone as long as some form of *modus vivendi* existed between them and the orthodox Christians in Africa. While there was an increase in the production of anti-Donatist polemics among orthodox clergy (such as Augustine) and anti-Donatist imperial legislation following Gildo’s defeat, this coincides with the reform of the position of the *Comes Africae* as well, suggesting a general move toward greater control over the area, rather than specific punishment for aiding the rebel.

CONCLUSION

Past scholarship has put the emphasis on Firmus and Gildo's desire for an independent African kingdom to justify the assertion of a close alliance with Donatism. Hostile sources, in particular Augustine, have been taken at face value. This is, however, a misinterpretation of the nature both of the Donatist Church and of these revolts. In either case, the outbreak of open hostilities was far from inevitable, and neither one seems to have wanted anything approaching independence or imperial power. Any such accusations come from those who were actively engaged in political or religious polemics, designed to further their own causes and, especially, to portray the Donatist Church as an imminent threat to the social and political order.[118] On the contrary, it appears as though Firmus was simply an unfortunate victim of the late Roman political system, while Gildo became something of a pawn in the struggle between the eastern and western portions of an irrevocably split Roman Empire. Neither of them ever made any indication before their respective ends that they saw themselves as independent from the Roman world. Even the mixture of Roman and indigenous African names found among the sons of Nubel attest to the family's dual leadership positions among both indigenous peoples and the Roman administrative system.

The sons of Nubel had more to gain by remaining within the orthodox belief system, thereby strengthening their claims to rightful political authority through the Roman Empire. The surviving evidence indicates that this was indeed probably the case. Nubel's foundation of a church housing a piece of the true cross, Firmus's use of priests as emissaries, Gildo's interment in an orthodox church, and his daughter's relationship with John Chrysostom all point to a family that was not only deeply involved in the politics, but also the religion of the Roman Empire of their day.

There can be little doubt that there was violence perpetrated by members of the Donatist Church in this period, both against their orthodox counterpart as well as other Donatist dissenters, but there is no reason to believe that this was necessarily done in conjunction with or at the orders of either Firmus or Gildo. Throughout the fourth century there had been hostile activity among the various Donatist factions and the orthodox Church in North Africa. Sometimes bishops of the competing parties were at the head of such movements, while at other times it seems to have been largely independent bands of militant zealots. In either case, an increase in such activities during periods of upheaval might be expected. This is not, however, indicative of active support by either of the African brothers.

Nearly all the sources linking the brothers' revolts with the Donatist Church were written after their respective defeats. In general, the purpose of these works was to link the schismatic church with political enemies of the Roman government. Both Firmus and Gildo did, in the end, engage in open hostilities with imperial forces and lost, meaning their reputations and memories were thereafter at the mercy of those who had been their enemies. In such a situation, it is perhaps inevitable that they would both be linked to a schismatic and, later, heretical church in their homeland. A critical reading of the evidence, however, does not support any contention of shared ideological motivations or systemic links between the Donatist Church and the revolts of Firmus or Gildo.

NOTES

1. For example, Brent Shaw, *Sacred Violence: African Christians and Sectarian Hatred in the Age of Augustine* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 16–17, 45–50.

2. Brent Shaw is a notable exception. See esp. ibid., 45–50.

3. Ibid., 38–9.

4. Ammianus Marcellinus, *Rerum Gestarum libri qui supersunt*, ed. W. Seyfarth (Berlin: Teubner, 1978), XXIX.5.2.

5. *CIL* VIII.9255. In the past, there has been some debate as to whether this inscription in fact belongs to Nubel or an unrelated individual, but today it is generally agreed that the two refer to the same person.

6. For more on the family, see the relevant entries in A. H. M. Jones, J. R. Martindale, and J. Morris, eds, *The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire: Volume 1, AD 260–395* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971), esp. 396, 633. Note that the editors of the *PLRE* do not identify the Flavius Nuvel named in the inscription with Nubel, father of Firmus and Gildo. The current scholarly consensus, however, is that the two men are one and the same.

7. Ammianus XXIX.5.2.

8. Ibid.: . . . e quibus Zammac comiti nomine Romano acceptus, latenter a fratre Firmo peremptus discordias excitavit et bella.

9. Ammianus XXIX.5.6, 50.

10. Shaw, *Sacred Violence*, 41–42.

11. John Matthews, *The Roman Empire of Ammianus* (London: Gerald Duckworth & Co., 1989), 375.

12. Ammianus XXIX.5.13: . . . in modum urbis exstruxit.

13. *ILS* 9351.

14. Ibid.: . . . ut virtus comitata fidem concordat in omni munere Romuleis semper sociata triumfis; cf. Ammianus XXIX.5.2.

15. Ammianus XXIX.5.13: Inter quos clades eminuere fundi Petrensis, excisi radicitus . . .

16. Ammianus XXIX.5.14.

17. Orosius, *Adversus Paganos* VII.36.4.

18. Ammianus XXIX.5.6.

19. Claudian, *De Bello Gildonico*, ed. and trans. M. Platnauer (London: William Heinemann, 1922), 153–55; W. H. C. Frend, *The Donatist Church* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1952), 208; Shaw, *Sacred Violence*, 46.

20. The close ties had begun during the revolt of Firmus, at which time Gildo had offered assistance to Theodosius the Elder. Shaw, *Sacred Violence*, 46.

21. Symmachus, *Ep*. 6.1, trans. M. R. Salzman and M. Roberts, *The Letters of Symmachus: Book 1* (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2011); Stewart Irvin Oost, "Count Gildo and Theodosius the Great," *Classical Philology* 57.1 (January 1962): 27.

22. Andy Blackhurst, "The House of Nubel: Rebels or Players?" in *Vandals, Romans and Berbers*, edited by A. H. Merrills, 68 (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2004).

23. *CTh* 9.7.9.

24. Christopher Kelly, "Empire Building," in *Late Antiquity: A Guide to the Postclassical World*, edited by G. W. Bowersock, Peter Brown, and Oleg Grabar (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1999), 177–78.

25. *CTh* 7.13.12–14; 1.7.3.

26. A. H. M. Jones, *The Later Roman Empire: 284–602* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1964), 184.

27. Claudian, *De Bello Gildonico*, 60–63.

28. Blackhurst, "The House of Nubel," 69 (n. 69).

29. Claudian, *De Bello Gildonico*, 236–37.

30. Alan Cameron, *Claudian: Poetry and Propaganda at the Court of Honorius* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970), 122.

31. Cameron, *Claudian*, 188–89.

32. Claudian, *De Consulatu Stilichonis*, ed. and trans. M. Platnauer (London: W. Heinemann, 1922), I.276–79; Shaw, *Sacred Violence*, 47 (and n. 114).

33. Symmachus, *Ep*. 4.5.

34. Claudian, *De Consulatu Stilichonis*, I.206–207.

35. Zosimus, *Historia Nova*, ed. and trans. F. Paschoud, *Zosime, Histoire nouvelle* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1971–89), V.11.1–2.

36. Claudian, *De Consulatu Stilichonis*, I.358–59.

37. Yves Modéran, *Les Maures et l'Afrique romaine (IVe-VIIe siècle)* (Rome: École française de Rome, 2003), 3135.

38. Claudian, *De Bello Gildonico*, 153–55.

39. Symmachus, *Relationes*, ed.W. Meyer (Berlin: Teubner, 1872), 18.2.

40. Cameron, *Claudian*, 58.

41. Paulus Orosius, *Historiarum adversus paganos libri VII*, ed. K. F. W. Zangemeister (Vienna: C. Geroldus, 1882), VII.36.9–10.

42. B. H. Warmington, *The North African Provinces from Diocletian to the Vandal Conquest* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1954), 97; Shaw, *Sacred Violence*, 48–50.

43. Shaw, *Sacred Violence*, 46–50.

44. Blackhurst, "The House of Nubel," 59–75.

45. Shaw, *Sacred Violence*, 45–50.

46. Blackhurst, "The House of Nubel," 71.

47. Frend, *The Donatist Church*, 221.

48. For Firmus, see Ammianus XXIX.5.20, 22; for Gildo, see *CTh* 7.8.7.

49. *CIL* VIII.9255.

50. Jones, *The Later Roman Empire*, 652.

51. *CIL* VIII.9255: . . . sancto ligno crucis Christi salvatoris adlato.

52. Matthews, *The Roman Empire of Ammianus*, 373.

53. Shaw, *Sacred Violence*, 45.

54. Ammianus 29.5.15: Christiani ritus antistites oraturos pacem cum obsidibus misit . . .

55. Shaw agrees. See Shaw, *Sacred Violence*, 45.

56. Peter Iver Kaufman, *Church, Book, and Bishop: Conflict and Authority in Early Latin Christianity* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1996), 89.

57. *Passio Salsae*, in *Catalogus codicum hagiographicorum latinarum*, subsidia hagiographica, 25 (Brussels, 1883), 13, 352.

58. Ammianus XXIX.5.17.

59. Blackhurst, "The House of Nubel," 68.

60. Jerome, *Ep*. 123.18, 79.

61. Jerome, *Ep*. 123.18.

62. Palladius, *Dialogue on the Life of St. John Chrysostom*, ed. and trans. Robert T. Meyer (New York: Newman Press, 1985), 10.

63. Ibid.

64. Warmington, *The North African Provinces*, 12. Warmington partially supports such a conclusion, stating that any support given to the Donatists by Gildo "is likely to have been from policy rather than conviction."

65. Frend, *The Donatist Church*, 226.

66. *Gesta Collationis Carthaginensis* I.286 (in *PL* 11, 1343–44): Lamzelli in basilica nostra [catholica] positus est Gildo.

67. Orosius, VII.36.5.

68. Zosimus, V.11.3.

69. Cameron, *Claudian*, 116.

70. Orosius, VII.36.

71. Ammianus XXIX.5.14.

72. G. Camps, "Rex gentium Maurorum et Romanorum: Recherches sur les royaumes de Maurétanie du VIe et VIIe siècles," *Antiquités africaines* 20 (1984): 186–88.

73. As stated in the introduction, Shaw is a notable exception. See esp. Shaw, *Sacred Violence*, 38–50.

74. For example, E. L. Woodward, *Christianity and Nationalism in the Later Roman Empire* (New York: Longman, Green, & Co., 1916).

75. Frend, *The Donatist Church*, 210.

76. Geoffrey Grimshaw Willis, *St. Augustine and the Donatist Controversy* (London: S.P.C.K., 1950), 34.

77. Maureen A. Tilley, *The Bible in Christian North Africa* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1997), 132; Kaufman, *Church, Book, and Bishop*, 89.

78. Peter Brown, *Augustine of Hippo: A Biography* (Berkeley and LA: University of California Press, 1967), 226–27.

79. Shaw, *Sacred Violence*, 45–50.

80. Noel Lenski, "Harnessing Violence: Armed Force as Manpower in the Late Roman Countryside," *Journal of Late Antiquity* 6.2 (2013): 248. According to Lenski, under Firmus and Gildo the Donatists had recourse to at least some parts of the state apparatus in the hope of realigning the state in their favor.

81. Christian Courtois, *Les Vandales et l'Afrique* (Paris: Arts et métier graphiques, 1955), 146ff.

82. J. E. Atkinson, "Out of Order: The Circumcellions and Codex Theodosianus 16, 5, 52," *Historia: Zeitschrift für Alte Geschichte* 41.4 (1992): 490.

83. For a more detailed examination, see Brent D. Shaw, "Who Were the Circumcellions?" in *Vandals, Romans, and Berbers: New Perspectives on Late Antique North Africa*, edited by A. H. Merrills, 227–58 (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2004).

84. Optatus Milevitanus *Contra Parm. Don*. III.4.1–2: Veniebant Paulus et Macarius qui pauperes ubique dispungerent et ad unitatem singulos hortarentur; 2. et cum ad Bagaiensem ciuitatem proximarent, tunc alter Donatus, sicut supra diximus, eiusdem ciuitatis episcopus, impedimentum unitati et obicem uenientibus supra memoratis opponere cupiens, praecones per uicina loca et per omnes nundinas misit, circumcelliones agonisticos nuncupans, ad praedictum locum ut concurrerent inuitauit.

85. For example, Augustine, *Ep*. 43.8.24, ed. K. D. Daur, *Epistulae* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2004).

86. See, for example, Lenski, "Harnessing Violence," 233–50; Shaw, *Sacred Violence*, 357–73; 828–40.

87. Augustine, *Contra Cresc*. III.42.46: Deinde commemorans etiam nescio quos mortuos, quos a nostris dicis occisos, tamquam in campo facundiae tuae positus latissime exaggeras locum, in quo vobis videmini similes martyrum, cum cotidie vestrorum incredibilia patiamur facta clericorum et circumcellionum multo peiora quam quorumlibet latronum atque praedonum. Namque horrendis armati cuiusque generis telis terribiliter vagando non dico ecclesiasticam, sed ipsam humanam quietem pacemque perturbant, nocturnis adgressionibus clericorum catholicorum invasas domos nudas atque inanes relinquunt, ipsos etiam raptos et fustibus tunsos ferroque concisos semivivos abiciunt.

88. On the possible use of private militias (*bucellarii*) in Gildo's revolt, see *CTh* 9.40.19; Lenski, "Harnessing Violence," 245.

89. William K. Boyd, "The Ecclesiastical Edicts of the Theodosian Code," PhD diss. (Columbia University, 1905), 55.

90. Sozomen, *HE* 7.12.

91. Tilley, *Donatist Martyr Stories*, 136.

92. *Codex Theodosianus* 16.5.38, ed. Theodor Mommsen and Paul Martin Meyer, *Theodosiani libri XVI cum constitutionibus Sirmondianis et leges novellae ad Theodosianum pertinentes*, 2 vols. (Berlin: apud Weismannos,1905). Henceforward cited as CTh.

93. *CTh* 16.5.18pr (June 389) and 16.5.35 (May 399), for example.

94. See *CTh* 9.40.19, for example. Some have tried to draw a connection between the *satellites Gildonis* in this edict to Augustine's suggestion that Optatus was such a *satelles* in *Contra Cresc.* III.13.16., but the term is rather vague.

95. *CTh* 9.42.16, 19.

96. *Not. Dig. Occ.* XII.

97. Claudian, *De Bello Gildonico*, 161.

98. Matthews, *The Roman Empire of Ammianus*, 106.

99. Augustine, *Ep.* 87.10: Neque de Rusicayensi episcopo vestro, qui cum Firmo pactus perhibetur incolumitatem suorum, ut ei portae aperirentur, et in vastationem darentur Catholici . . .

100. Augustine, *Ep.* 87.10: Memento quod de Rogatensibus non dixerim, qui vos Firmianos appellare dicuntur, sicut nos Macarianos appellatis.

101. Blackhurst, "The House of Nubel," 64.

102. Shaw, *Sacred Violence*, 40–44.

103. Alexander Demandt, "Die Feldzüge des Älteren Theodosius," *Hermes* 100.1 (1972): 81–113, 96. "Es is schwer vorstellbar, dass Firmus den Donatisten ohne anderen Gegendienst als den einer blassen Anerkennung geholfen hat . . ."

104. Augustine, *Ep.* 53.3.6: . . . cogente Optato Gildoniano susciperent . . .

105. Frend, *The Donatist Church*, 208–209.

106. Shaw argues that claims of extraordinary violence perpetrated by Optatus of Thamugadi are probably exaggerated in the same way as those of Firmus and Gildo. See Shaw, *Sacred Violence*, 134.

107. Augustine, *Ep.* 43.8.24: Nonne tolerantur ab eis caedes et incendia Circumcellionum, veneratores praecipitatorum ultro cadaverum, et sub incredibilibus mali unius Optati per tot annos totius Africae gemitus? Parco iam dicere singularum per Africam regionum et civitatum et fundorum tyrannicas potestates, et publica latrocinia.

108. Augustine, *Contra Litt. Petil.* 2.83.184: Bello Firmiano quae a vobis Rogatus Maurus pertulerit, ipsa Mauritania Caesareensis interrogetur. Tempore Gildoniano, quia unus collega vester familiarissimus amicus eius fuit, viderint Maximianistae quae senserint.

109. Augustine, *Contra Cresc.* 3.13.16: Sed iam dixi, senti de Optato quod vis: neque enim est unde convincamus eum, qui non apud acta commisit; quae tamen ita commisit, ut inter Gildonis satellites praecipuus haberetur, teneretur, moreretur; Augustine, *Ep.* 87.5: . . . imo vero terrarum omnium quaquaversum Gildonis fama fervebat, simul enim et ille notus erat, non ausi estis umquam de Optato iudicare.

110. For example, Augustine, *Contra Litt. Petil.* 2.23.53: quod Comitem haberet Deum; ibid. 2.33.78: cui Comes est Deus.

111. Brown, *Augustine of Hippo*, 227; Shaw, *Sacred Violence*, 48–50.

112. Augustine, *Contra Cresc.* 3.15: Et de Optato quidem, de quo nihil conscriptum valeo recitare, quodlibet sentias, facile cedo. Unum illud scio: si vera sunt quae de illo, ut non dicam ostendebantur, certe tamen dicebantur, nec ipse erat bonus, nec famam habebat bonam . . .

113. Augustine, *Contra Litt. Petil.* 2.83.184.

114. Ibid., for example.

115. Brown, *Augustine of Hippo*, 226–27; Blackhurst, “The House of Nubel,” 71–72.

116. Frend, *The Donatist Church*, 250.

117. *CTh* 16.5.52 (January 412); Tilley, *Donatist Martyr Stories*, 137.

118. Shaw, *Sacred Violence*, 49–50.

Chapter 6

Attila, Honoria, and the Nature of Hunnic Rule

Charles W. King

From 1991 to 1998, when I was graduate student at the University of Chicago, I pursued among other fields an interest in the Late Antique/Early Byzantine period, studying with Walter Kaegi, whose vast erudition and enthusiasm for the period had considerable influence on my research. Ultimately I decided to write my dissertation on a topic about Roman religion of an earlier period, though Dr. Kaegi still served on that committee. I continued, nevertheless, to work on Late Antiquity and on the subject of the Huns specifically at the same time, and I published an article on Ammianus Marcellinus's description of the Huns, a bibliography of one of Hunnic studies' major scholars, and two book reviews relating to the Huns, all while working on an unrelated dissertation topic about the Roman afterlife. I am grateful to Dr. Kaegi for his encouragement of those endeavors, and it is a pleasure to return now to a subject matter that relates to the publications that I wrote while I was still his student.[1]

The issue before us is the story that prior to Attila's Hunnic attack on Gaul in 451 Honoria, a princess of the Western Empire, invited him to attack and (perhaps) offered him her hand in marriage. Scholars have been divided on the truth of this story. Some have accepted it with little or no explicit defense.[2] Others, while sometimes doubting specific details, have argued more directly that Honoria's actions, the story's chronology, or both were plausible in the context of the fifth century.[3] Other scholars disagreed. Otto Maenchen-Helfen dismissed what he called the "melodramatic story of the vicious Princess Honoria" as "Byzantine court gossip."[4] More recently, Hyun Jin Kim called the story "spurious court gossip," "ridiculous," and "fit for a soap opera or a medieval romance."[5] The reassessment offered here will examine the issues, looking at alleged problems with the story's chronology and sources, at the role of Honoria, and at the way Attila's claims upon Honoria would make sense in the context of Hunnic familial politics.

THE STORY AND ITS SOURCES

In the form that it passes to us, the story of Honoria's appeal to Attila derives primarily from the Greek fragments of the history of Priscus of Panium, a contemporary of Attila who participated in a diplomatic mission to the Hunnic king in 449. There are two excerpts from the Greek text of Priscus's history (20.1 and 20.3 Blockley), both derived from the *Excerpta de legationibus*, a tenth-century compilation of passages about diplomatic history from various sources. There is also a passage from the seventh-century John Antioch (199.1), which Blockley treats as a paraphrase of material from Priscus (and so includes it as Priscus, fragment 17).[6] There are also a few additional details in *The Gallic Chronicle of 452*, a Western source, in the Byzantine *Chronicle of Marcellinus*, and in the *Getica* and *Romana* of Jordanes, all written in Latin. As one has to piece the story together from multiple sources, there are several issues that arise. The sources seem to offer conflicting chronological details. Is it possible to reconcile them or are the chronological inconsistencies sufficient to cast doubt on the entire story? Additionally, there have been challenges to the sources themselves, with both Maenchen-Helfen and Kim rejecting the authenticity of particular sources as part of a basis for dismissing the story as a whole. It is necessary, therefore, to address all of these concerns, beginning first with the story itself and its chronology.

John of Antioch's version says that Honoria, sister of the Western emperor Valentinian III, had an affair with her procurator Eugenius, leading to the execution of her lover when the affair was discovered. She was deprived of her imperial rank. Valentinian then arranged her engagement to Herculanus, a man of consular rank whose loyalty and lack of political aspirations made him a safe husband for the princess. Unwilling to accept this situation, Honoria sent a eunuch named Hyacinthus to Attila, offering him money to intervene on her behalf and sending along her ring "as her pledge." Attila then demanded Honoria as his bride. The Eastern emperor Theodosius II urged Valentinian to agree to this, but Valentinian refused, executed the eunuch Hyacinthus, and put Honoria under the supervision of her powerful mother Galla Placidia.

The direct Greek fragments from Priscus (20.1 and 20.3) confirm Attila's demand for both Honoria and her property and mention the sending of the ring, but they add an emphasis on Attila's territorial claims. The Hunnic king insisted that Valentinian had deprived Honoria of her symbols of power and of her fair share of her inheritance from her father (the Emperor Constantius). He therefore demanded that Valentinian surrender half his kingdom to Attila as Honoria's husband-to-be. When Valentinian refused, Attila prepared for war, leading to his attacks on Gaul (in 451) and later Italy (452). A Western source, the *Gallic Chronicle of 452* (139), although it does not mention

Honoria by name, confirms that Attila entered Gaul using a demand for a bride as his justification. Another Eastern source, the *Chronicle of Marcellinus* (434) confirms the name of Honoria's lover. Both Marcellinus and Jordanes' chronicle, the *Romana* (328), mention that Honoria was sent to Constantinople for a time after her scandal with Eugenius, but only Marcellinus claims she was pregnant. Jordanes' *Getica* (42.223–24) mentions Honoria's sending of the eunuch to Attila, but says that Attila made the demand for Honoria from the Western Empire after his Italian campaign of 452.

In terms of chronology, one possibility is to treat all of the events involving Honoria as taking place shortly before Attila's attack on Gaul in 451. Thus, one could say that Honoria's affair with Eugenius, her engagement to Herculanus, and her appeal to Attila all took place within a short period in 449–450, setting up Attila's actions in 451. The logic of Attila justifying an attack on the Western Empire with a demand for Honoria would also require her to be in the West (presumably at the capital at Ravenna), and not in Constantinople. The difficulty is the *Chronicle of Marcellinus*, which recounts the affair and its consequences in the entry for the year 434, and says that the Western Empire shipped the pregnant princess off to Constantinople. J. B. Bury offered one possible solution. Arguing that Marcellinus had made a chronological mistake based on linking the affair to the wrong fifteen-year indiction cycle, he advanced Marcellinus's date of 434 by fifteen years to 449. This allowed one to defend the short 449–451 chronology of events, but left no room for Honoria to have spent any substantial time in Constantinople, so Bury dismissed that detail as fiction. Several scholars have endorsed this chronology.[7]

There are difficulties with Bury's reconstruction. It might be true that Marcellinus's claim that Honoria was pregnant is suspicious, for no source mentions any resulting child, and the failure of anyone—even Marcellinus—to mention a surviving illegitimate imperial prince or princess seems odd. It is probably best to dismiss the pregnancy as a rumor. Such a story could survive the failure of the princess to produce an actual child, for one could always modify the rumor to say that she aborted and/or miscarried the baby. Unlike a secret pregnancy, however, it would be much harder to conceal the actual physical presence of Honoria in Constantinople. Oost rightly objects that the residence of a Western princess in the Eastern capital would have left some record, and it is implausible to think that an Eastern chronicler like Marcellinus, much less two Eastern chroniclers if one includes Jordanes as an independent source, could be mistaken about such a basic point.[8] There is also nothing intrinsically implausible about Valentinian reacting to Honoria's scandal by shipping her out of town until the furor died down. Brian Croke has therefore offered an alternate chronology in which Marcellinus is correct that 434 is the date of Honoria's affair with Eugenius, but that the marriage to Herculanus and Honoria's subsequent appeal to Attila did not happen until 449. The first years of that period Honoria spent in Constantinople, presumably returning prior to Merabaudes's *Panegyric* 1 mentioning her in 439.[9]

In support of Croke's dating one could note a heretofore unexamined point: the reputation of Honoria's husband Flavius Bassius Herculanus. Sivan has recently stressed what a great scandal the affair with Eugenius would have been for Honoria herself. Although theoretically having committed herself to religious virginity, she had a sexual affair with a person of a lower social status, and Valentinian had her lover executed.[10] What one needs to consider further is the issue of the reputation of her future groom (Herculanus). He was a prominent man of consular status, supposedly chosen to be her husband because of his loyalty. If, though, the wedding took place in the immediate aftermath of the scandal, and he married Honoria while the execution of her lover was still a current focus of conversation, Herculanus's reputation and status would have suffered a major loss. Turning Herculanus himself into a social pariah, whose new wife no one of his own status would want to be around, seems a rather poor reward for Valentinian to hand out in return for Herculanus's loyalty.

If, though, fifteen years elapsed, and Honoria had spent several of them in the Eastern capital, the brunt of the scandal would have passed and it would have been easier to pass off the affair with Eugenius as a youthful teenage indiscretion of a woman who was in her thirties at the time of the wedding. Likewise, John of Antioch (= Priscus, 17) says that Herculanus "was suspected of designs neither on kingship nor on revolution." That implies that at the time of the wedding, Valentinian's concerns about Honoria were political, not concerning a sex scandal, and that this was true prior to her appeal to Attila. Again, the idea that Honoria was a political threat to Valentinian makes much more sense if fifteen years had passed since her earlier scandal and the now older Honoria had been able to build up a degree of political support (or political ambition) sufficient to worry the emperor. By contrast, in the period immediately after the affair with Eugenius, the scandal itself would have negated any potential political clout Honoria could have had at Ravenna. It is difficult to see how, in the aftermath of her lover's execution, she could have raised concerns about "kingship" or "revolution."

Thus, the circumstantial evidence favors Croke's reconstruction of the chronology, and that reconstruction allows one to reconcile the seeming contradictions in the surviving evidence, allowing time for Honoria both to live for a period in Constantinople and to regain political influence in Ravenna in between her sex scandal and her marriage to Herculanus. There is still the matter of Jordanes placing Attila's demand for Honoria after his 452 campaign into Italy. The date could be a chronological error, misplacing material that the other sources all place prior to the 451 attack against Gaul, but it could also just be additional information that other sources lack. As Attila failed to gain Honoria in 451–452, and it was really only his death in 453 that prevented further attacks on either the Western or Eastern Empires, one cannot say for sure that Attila did not also make demands in 452 concerning Honoria that resembled his earlier ones, so even Jordanes' account appears defensible. There is no reason to dismiss the evidence on the grounds that internal contradictions or chronological problems render the entire story implausible.

Maenchen-Helfen and Kim have raised a different set of issues, suggesting that some of the texts misrepresent the sources of their information. Maenchen-Helfen challenged the *Gallic Chronicle of 452*, which is the only contemporary source from the Western (rather than Eastern) Empire that mentions Attila demanding a wife in the context of his invasion of 451. He argued that the *Gallic Chronicle* drew the entry in question from an Eastern source and that, therefore, there were no Western sources to mention Honoria's connection to Attila. If true, that would strengthen Maenchen-Helfen's position that the story is just "Byzantine gossip," unknown in the West. Steven Muhlberger has, however, pointed out that Maenchen-Helfen's position is logically circular. Maenchen-Helfen both argues that the *Gallic Chronicle*'s use of an Eastern source shows that the Honoria story was unknown to Western sources and, simultaneously, uses the fact that the *Chronicle* mentions the Honoria story as the proof that the text relies on an Eastern source, thereby showing that no Western source mentions it. He thus interjects his conclusion into his evidence. As Maenchen-Helfen's other arguments for thinking the *Gallic Chronicle* used Eastern sources are weak, Muhlberger rightly rejects the entire objection to the *Gallic Chronicle*'s independence as a Western source.[11]

Kim makes a similar type of argument, insisting that one of the main Greek language fragments of Priscus, 20.1, is of "highly doubtful" authenticity. He cites as support the arguments of Arne Søby Christensen, whom Kim claims challenged the Priscian origin of the fragment "on the grounds that its focus on Geiseric, thus Goths, and Honoria, smacks of Cassiodorus/Jordanes, not Priscus," to which Kim adds, "He is definitely correct."[12] The difficulty with Kim's strong endorsement of Christensen's alleged argument is that Christensen made no such argument. Christensen does not dispute the historicity of Honoria's summoning of Attila, which he endorses in a footnote. What he does is point out that Jordanes' version of the events of the year 451, which Christensen is assuming derives from Cassiodorus, differs in several respects from the Greek Priscus fragment 20.1 and that the two are unlikely to derive from the same source. In other words, he is challenging the validity of treating any of Jordanes' version of 451 as a fragment of Priscus. He never suggests the Greek fragment derives from Cassiodorus, which would actually contradict his position, since he is pointing out disagreements between the Greek Priscian fragment and the Cassiodorus-derived material in Jordanes.[13] One could add that Kim offers no explanation about how tenth-century editors lifting excerpts from the Greek text of Priscus would instead somehow substitute a Greek-language version of a passage from Cassiodorus's (lost) Latin-language history, which Cassiodorus did not write until after Priscus completed his text. It does not seem like a plausible scenario. There is, therefore, no reason to eliminate any of the Greek-language fragments of Priscus, or the material that they contain about Honoria, from our consideration here.

A PRINCESS IN ACTION

In 1911, Ernest Barker dismissed the bulk of the details of the story of Honoria's appeal to Attila as "erotic romanticism," since "our information only comes from Byzantine historians, whose tendency to a 'feminine' interpretation of history has already been noticed." In other words, a story with a princess as its protagonist is just too girly to be history, since good historians would focus only on rugged manly things. Barker was the product of his own pre–World War I era and its biases, but when one looks at the choice of stereotypes that the strongest modern critics of the story invoke as metaphors—"gossip," "soap opera," "romance"—it is hard not to suspect that Honoria's gender still underlies the skepticism about her alleged activities.[14] One could suggest, though, that Honoria's bid to be a major player by appealing to the Huns shows parallels both to the actions of other fifth-century imperial women, and, in different ways, to the strategies of some of the major male political figures of the era.

The fifth century seems an odd period about which to be skeptical of the ability of imperial women to assert themselves, as they did so with surprising frequency. Most obviously, Honoria's mother, Galla Placidia was able to parlay her marriages first to the ruler of the Visigoths and then to the short-lived emperor Constantius III into a position in which she was the effective ruler of the Western Roman Empire for around a decade while serving as regent for her young son Valentinian III. In the same era, in the Eastern Empire, Aelia Pulcheria, daughter of the emperor Arcadius, was similarly powerful during the youth of her brother, the emperor Theodosius II, and helped to put her mark on Eastern political and religious policy. She would also later marry the next emperor Marcian, whose accession she had worked to arrange. Similarly, Aelia Ariadne, the wife of the Eastern emperor Zeno helped arrange the accession of his successor Anastasius, whom she also married, while Aelia Verina, wife of the emperor Leo and mother of Ariadne, had earlier given significant aid to the attempt of Verina's brother Basiliscus to usurp Zeno's throne. Space considerations prevent detailed examination of these examples, but they do show a considerable ability of women to use marriages to important leaders and/or the status of being the daughter of a leader to achieve real power and to be effective players in power struggles of a variety of sorts.[15] Honoria's actions did not happen in a vacuum.

If the fifth century was often a forum for powerful women to build upon marriage alliances, it was also an era in which military intervention by armies of Huns was central to the politics of the Western Empire prior to 451. As the emperors, first Honorius and then Valentinian III, were often underage or simply weak, power shifted to the powerful generals Stilicho and Aetius, both of whom relied on armies of Hunnic troops hired from the current Hunnic rulers to achieve their dominance. Again, space prevents full elaboration, but Stilicho's use of Hunnic troops to hold off challenges by the Goth Alaric and the usurper Constantine III allowed him to achieve a commanding position in the Western court in the reign of the young Honorius, which was undercut finally by suspicions—plausible in the view of Thomas Burns—that he was plotting a takeover of the Eastern Empire. Stilicho's clout included being able to marry his daughter Maria to the emperor himself.[16]

After the fall of Stilicho in 408 and the death of Emperor Honorius himself in 423, the set of events that put Valentinian III and his mother Galla Placidia in power in the West required the Eastern emperor Theodosius II to intervene militarily in 425 to depose the usurper John, who had briefly seized the Western throne. John had sent his agent Aetius to gain troops from the Huns to aid him, but Aetius and the Huns arrived only after Theodosius's forces had killed John. The young king and his mother-regent quickly won over Aetius to their side, but the need to do so only recognized the potential of the Hunnic troops to upset the new political arrangement. Aetius would continue to exploit his connections with the Huns in the decades that followed, using the power of the forces he could mobilize as leverage to secure his own position as the West's top general. Using Hunnic troops, he would win battles against the Franks (428), Iuthungi (430), Visigoths (430, 438), and Burgundians (437). Most notably, when forced from his position in 432 by the rise of the rival general Boniface—then the favorite of Valentinian and Galla Placidia—Aetius did not hesitate to rally his army behind him and fight an actual civil war in Italy that ultimately led to Boniface's death and (after a further appeal to the Huns) Aetius's restoration to his former position of dominance. Valentinian would not be able to challenge Aetius until later in 454, after Attila's death and after Aetius could no longer mobilize Huns to defend his position.[17]

The role of these precedents needs to be considered, as the story's major source undervalues them. When discussing Priscus's qualities as a historian, R. C. Blockley criticized his tendency to attribute actions to narrow personal motives rather than considering a bigger political picture.[18] The only motive that Priscus attributes to Honoria's appeal to Attila is that she wished to escape her marriage to Herculanus, and one could see that as a good illustration of Blockley's point. Clearly, much more was at stake in Attila's demands to the Western Empire than Herculanus, and it seems unlikely that Honoria was aiming so low as merely to alter her marital situation. Indeed, that Valentinian chose Herculanus for her spouse because he had "designs neither on kingship nor on revolution" suggests that Valentinian suspected Honoria of plotting some kind of challenge to his authority even prior to the involvement of the Hunnic king.

Honoria had before her the precedent of Aetius, who had not merely utilized Hunnic forces, but done so specifically to foil the plans of Honoria's brother and mother in regard to Boniface. Those events took place in 432, when Honoria was a teenager (only shortly before her sexual scandal in 434), and had resulted in Aetius holding a commanding influence in the Western Empire throughout much of Honoria's adulthood. Honoria had also the example of Galla Placidia, who had both been the wife of a "barbarian" ruler (the Visigoth Athaulf) and later wielded real power in the Western government while she was acting as Valentinian's regent, a situation Honoria would have remembered from her childhood.

The combination of the precedents is important. Galla Placidia had demonstrated that gender was no barrier to political clout in the Western Empire, but Honoria had no way of following Galla Placidia's exact path to political influence. Galla Placidia had gained that power while her son was in his juvenile years. Valentinian III was now an adult and Honoria could not have established herself in the same manner. What she needed was leverage that would weaken Valentinian and force him to acknowledge her as a participant in significant decision-making. In her lifetime, Aetius alone had shown the ability to do that. To follow his example, Honoria needed Aetius's style of leverage. She needed Huns. Thus, one can see Honoria's marriage proposal to Attila as an attempt to assert herself as a political force relative to Valentinian III and relative to Aetius himself, whose influence with the Huns she was attempting to replace with her own.[19]

Some scholars have questioned whether Honoria actually proposed marriage to Attila. For example, Blodgett sees Honoria's appeal as being only one for a political alliance, which "Attila chose to understand as an offer of marriage," and claims that Priscus never says that Honoria offered marriage.[20] This point is ambiguous. What Blockley calls Priscus fragment 17 is a paraphrase of Priscus by John of Antioch, not a quotation. It says that Honoria "sent her ring as her pledge to the barbarian" (*daktoulion epempse pistoumenē ton barbaron*). The text leaves the nature of what she is pledging vague, but it does not unduly tax the Greek to read it as her pledging herself, and so the text allows for a promise of betrothal. The more direct Priscian fragment 20.3 has Attila link the ring directly to his claim of betrothal to Honoria, and he sends the ring back to Ravenna as proof of his point.

To say that Attila misunderstood the ring as an offer of marriage would require a ring to be a universal symbol of betrothal. There is nothing to indicate an association between rings and marriage for the Huns, but it was definitely a Roman symbol of betrothal and had been for centuries.[21] Even that Attila sent the ring to Ravenna as proof of engagement suggests that the Hun understood it as a Roman symbol. It is true that the groom normally presented the bride with a betrothal ring in Roman weddings, not the reverse, but in a situation where Honoria had to initiate the action without the customary involvement of her family, it does not seem implausible for Honoria to co-opt what she understood as a symbol of betrothal for her immediate purpose.

Without a promise of engagement from Honoria, Attila simply had no good reason to get involved in her situation. John of Antioch (= Priscus, 17) says that Honoria offered Attila money to intervene, but invasions are very expensive. Where would Honoria get sufficient money to interest a ruler who had been extracting thousands of pounds of gold at regular intervals from the Eastern Empire? The important difference between her situation and that of Stilicho or Aetius was that those generals could promise rewards to the Huns with the backing of the imperial treasury. Even in occasional situations (like Aetius's conflict with Boniface) where the Huns might have been working for a mere promise of a future reward, they were doing so for a general who had both paid them and led them to victory on multiple previous occasions. Honoria had no such record and no imperial financial backing. She was just a semi-marginalized princess, who could not possibly have paid for a Hun invasion from her personal funds.

Attila's ability to collect depended on both the engagement and the simultaneous claim that Honoria was entitled to half of Valentinian III's domain. Priscus fragment 20.3 makes it clear that it is not possible to separate these issues. Attila sent agents so that "Honoria might be handed over" as Attila's fiancé. Then, "[Attila] said also that Valentinian should resign to him half of his empire, since Honoria had received the sovereignty of it from her father and had been deprived of it by her brother's greed." By asserting a right to part of the empire (and its revenues) in Honoria's name Attila could stake a claim to a section of the empire's wealth that Honoria as an individual could not have brought him. Nevertheless, although Attila is asserting that right in the name of Honoria, his specific demand in this passage is that Valentinian give the territory to Attila himself. Only as Honoria's fiancé could he claim her alleged inheritance. The engagement, the territorial claim, and Honoria's offer of payment are all intertwined. Priscus fragment 20.1 says that Attila planned to make war "against the Italians to secure Honoria and her wealth." The bride and her inheritance must go together.

It is therefore implausible that Honoria did not both offer Attila her hand in marriage and at least imply that the restoration of the imperial titles that she had lost after her earlier sex scandal would give her a claim to actual authority. Without both elements, Honoria simply had nothing to offer the Hun. It is true that Attila's ultimate claim that Honoria was entitled to half of Valentinian's kingdom was a considerable exaggeration, but it is not clear that it was Attila's exaggeration to the Romans rather than Honoria's exaggeration to Attila. Again, she had to offer him something impressive enough to motivate him to act, for the marriage proposal alone would not have promised sufficient riches to pay for an invasion.

One can only offer conjecture as to what scenario Honoria envisioned as the result of her efforts if they were successful. Priscus had not yet written his history, but the Western Empire, through Stilicho and Aetius, had considerable interaction with Huns stretching over a period of decades, and it reasonable to assume the Western court had some knowledge of Hunnic practices. If so, Honoria would have known that Attila had several wives. An interesting detail about Priscus's later history, though, is that, although he mentions that Attila had many wives (11.2.269–270), his description of Attila's base mentions only Attila's head wife Herekan being there. So, there is an implication that Attila did not keep all of his wives together and that they had separate homes elsewhere. If so, and if Honoria was aware of it, then she could have hoped to remain in the Western empire as Attila's wife in residence, while functioning also as the representative of his power in the Western Empire. That scenario would have let her exercise political clout vis-à-vis Valentinian III, her mother Galla Placidia, and even Aetius through the implied threat of her husband's ability to return to intervene in any future situation. The marriage would have given her a claim to Attila's support that even Aetius at his peak could not have rivaled. This is only a theory, but it seems a practical one, offering Attila a political/financial foothold in the West and giving Honoria genuine authority to influence events. By contrast, it is difficult to see how marrying Attila would have helped Honoria much if the only result had been that he carted her off to Hungary.

FAMILIAL STRATEGIES IN HUNNIC POLITICS

What about Attila's demand for half of Valentinian's kingdom? Even if Honoria had suggested the claim to Attila, one could still say that, from a strictly Roman perspective, the territorial claim was fairly tenuous. There are hints in our sources, though, of a regular practice of linking marriage alliance to political control in the Hunnic Empire. Attila's persistence in his demands suggests the linkage of marriage with dominion made sense to him in specifically Hunnic political terms.

To consider the Roman response first, the Western Empire refused to turn Honoria over to Attila, pointing out that she already had a husband (Herculanus) and that women could not inherit the throne in Roman politics (Priscus, 20.1.9–12). Up to a point, these statements were true, though she could of course have divorced her existing husband. The political claim is more complex. In favor of the Roman government's position, neither Roman rules for dowry nor for inheritance support Attila's claim well. Roman dowry rules might transfer property to the groom for the duration of the marriage, but they would also preserve the bride's family's claim to recover the dowry in divorce or the death of the husband. That seems a poor framework for Attila claiming territory, for it is unlikely he would have been prepared to return the land or concede that he was in any way not fully the owner of it. It is true that Roman inheritance could be genuinely partitive, with daughters often getting an equal share with sons, but that only applied to private property, not political inheritance.[22] There was no custom of dividing the empire's territory among the daughters as well as sons of the previous emperor, and there were no female emperors.

It is possible that other recent precedents might have seemed to undercut the force of the Western Roman reply. Attila and his uncles had been dealing with the Roman government for decades. They must have known that, as a matter of *de facto* power, Galla Placidia in the West and Pulcheria in the East had often been the persons making the decisions in their respective empires, and both were imperial princesses. Thus, the idea that woman had no place in the succession to power would not have agreed well with the actual experience of imperial power for observers in the fifth century.

Likewise, when the Western emperor Valentinian III married Eudoxia, the daughter of the Eastern emperor Theodosius II, there was a transfer of territory, with parts of Illyricum transferring from Western to Eastern control. This was not a conventional dowry (since it was the father of the bride who gained territory), but it was a recent precedent for the idea that the marriage of a princess could carry with it a territorial price.[23] If Valentinian could purchase his own wife with the surrender of land, perhaps he could fund the marriage of his sister the same way, especially as Attila was claiming that Valentinian owed the land to Honoria anyway. Attila could also note the endorsement of his engagement from the Eastern Emperor Theododius II (Priscus, 17). Thus, Attila may have had some grounds for finding the Western Roman response insincere. Still, strictly from the perspective of Roman law, Attila's case was a shaky one at best.

What about Hunnic precedent? One could ask whether there is anything about the political use of marriage in Attila's kingdom that might have predisposed him toward the scenario that he was demanding from the Romans, even in the face of their solid rejection of his claims. The sources for Hunnic marriage alliances are scarce, but one can note some suggestive details.

Michael Blodgett has drawn attention to the possible precedent of Bleda's widow, and the example is worthy of further analysis. When traveling with an embassy to meet Attila in 449, Priscus's party stopped in a village ruled by a widow of the former Hunnic king (and Attila's brother) Bleda. Priscus does not give the woman's name, so there is no way to guess her ethnicity, but her status as the ruler of a sedentary village does not particularly suggest that she was a member of Attila and Bleda's own people, and it is just as possible that she represents one of the subject peoples of the Huns. There is also no reason to think she was Bleda's primary wife in the way that Attila's wife Herekan appears to be later in Priscus's account. Priscus just says she had been Bleda's wife, in a society where Hunnic kings can have several wives. In her village, though, she is ruling (*archousēs*). It would be easy to say that this rule owes itself to her former marriage, but the political situation argues against it. Attila killed Bleda and seized his territory. If this woman's political power rested solely on her connection to Bleda, then it would have been dangerous to leave her in a position of power, particularly in a village that appears to be on a main transport route from the Eastern Empire, so that she would meet with Roman potential enemies regularly. The decision to leave her in place makes most sense if it really was "her" village in the sense that she had some hereditary claim to rule there, and Priscus calling her a "queen" was not just a reference to her former marriage. Reaffirming her position in the village would thus have upheld an established political order—not just the whim of a previous, and now deposed and dead, king.[24]

The example of Bleda's widow does not show that the Hunnic royal family itself would consider dividing territory among female heirs. There is notable lack of references to daughters in the stories about the sons of Attila who battled for control after their father's death. Likewise, Attila and Bleda had no sister who shared their rule, nor are there any aunts among the uncles whose rule preceded their own. What the example suggests is that the Huns had subjects who did allow women to be rulers of particular territories. It was the woman's village by the local custom of a subject people. When Priscus went there, though, her rule was subordinate to that of the Hunnic king. That suggests that rather than Bleda giving the village to the woman, he acquired control of the territory through his marriage to her, which then passed to Attila as Bleda's *de facto* heir. Although this theory involves an element of speculation, it would notably agree well with the scenario that Attila was demanding from the Western Empire. Attila thought Honoria should inherit territory, which would then pass to Attila as her husband.

Priscus (11.2.269–270) says that Attila had many wives. One might ask why. They do not seem to be at Attila's base/village, where only his primary wife Herekan appears to be in residence, and where Priscus talks about Attila's "wife" only in the singular. Lust would not be the motive if the king did not have ready access to the women. One could note too that, despite the references to many wives, and the implication that he acquired them regularly—marrying the daughter of a man named Eskam even during Priscus's 449 journey to the Huns (11.2.264–270)—only a handful of sons seem to have any role in the succession to follow Attila. The seemingly small number of real contenders for the throne could imply that only the sons of the primary wife were eligible to succeed. What purpose, then, do the other wives—and other sons—serve?

The timing of the two specific weddings that appear in our sources is suggestive. In 449, when Attila married the daughter of Eskam, Attila was in the midst of a tense negotiation with the Eastern Empire about unpaid tribute, a negotiation that included an attempt to assassinate Attila. In 453, in the wedding at which he choked to death, Attila married a woman named Ildico. It was in the aftermath of the 452 Italian campaign, with the possibility of further action in the West, while the East was again defying him by not paying the tribute. Both were good moments to create new alliances and/or shore up existing ones. Ildico's name is Germanic, and so a bride from an allied people rather than a Hun. Eskam's name is Altaic, and so possibly Hunnic, but there were non-Hunnic Altaic peoples in Attila's empire, so Eskam's daughter too might be a subject ally. The timing of the wedding—during an East Roman embassy—could suggest that Attila wanted the Romans to see him shoring up his alliances.[25]

Wedding alliances might work several ways for the Huns. If the bride herself controlled territory, a wedding would put that territory into Hunnic hands, as the example of Bleda's widow suggests. Another type of marital alliance would just link the Hunnic ruling family by marriage to the ruling families of their subject allies, but not in an equal alliance. It would tie the subject peoples to the family of their rulers, treating formerly independent ruling families of non-Hunnic peoples as branches of a larger extended family under the control of the core Hunnic rulers. Such marriages could also potentially produce children with both Hunnic paternal ancestry and a claim to rule the people and/or lands of their mothers. Eskam's daughter and Ildico may be examples of this second type, and the Gepids provide a more explicit example.

Jordanes (*Getica*, 58.301) identifies the intriguing figure of "Mundo the Gepid" as "descending formerly from Attila's ancestry" (*de Attilanis quondam origine descendens*) but other sources show he was directly related to several post-Attila Gepid kings.[26] That would suggest intermarriage between the Hunnic rulers and the Gepid royal family. It would make most sense for the Hunnic rulers to establish the family ties to the Gepid rulers that ultimately produced Mundo during the time when the Gepids were most important as allies to the Huns. So, although there is no information about how Ardaric, the Gepid ruler at the time of Attila's death, might be related to the later Gepid kings with ties to Mundo, there is also no reason to reject the idea those later kings would be relations of the Gepid king of Attila's time. Kim's argument goes even further, pointing out that the name Ardaric lends itself to being interpreted as a Germanic pronunciation of a Hunnic name. He suggests that Ardaric himself was a descendent of the Hunnic royal family. If so, the intermarriage *Attilanis origine* would not have been with Attila himself, but with one of his predecessors, producing Ardaric as a subject ruler with familial ties to the Huns in the time of Attila and Mundo as a later descendent.[27]

It is interesting to compare a story that Jordanes (*Getica* 48.246–249) tells about "Balamber," the name that he gives the Hunnic ruler who supposedly conquered the Greutungi Goths and chased the Tervingi Goths into Roman territory in 376. Peter Heather has shown that the story is highly distorted, with Jordanes conflating Balamber with the later Gothic leader Valamir, a contemporary of Attila.[28] At the least, though, we have Jordanes' vision of how a Hunnic king ought to behave. Balamber's conquest of the Goths in the story is accompanied by his marrying Vadamerca, the granddaughter of the Gothic ruler, thereby consolidating his rule over the Goths. Even if the story is fictionalized, it suggests such marriages were part of the Hunnic mode of conquest. Kim goes further and suggests that the logical implication of Heather's interpretation should be that the later Gothic ruler Valamir was himself a descendent of an intermarriage between the Hunnic rulers of the late fourth century and the Goths they came to rule.[29]

Frustrating gaps in our evidence and in our knowledge of the genealogy of any of the ruling families in question make certainty impossible. Still, taken as a group, and even without accepting all of Kim's genealogical conjectures, these examples are suggestive of a pattern in which Attila and his predecessors pursued marital alliances with women from the ruling families of the peoples they wished themselves to rule, and used those marriages to cement their claims to the various peoples and their lands. As such, Attila's demand for both Honoria's hand in marriage and a share of Roman territory makes sense in Hunnic terms and helps to explain why Attila would continue to pursue those claims despite repeated Roman insistence that the claims had no (Roman) legal basis.

It is true, of course, that Attila never obtained Honoria. Blodgett has rightly stressed that the fact that Attila initially invaded Gaul instead of Italy in 451 can be explained as sound military strategy, not as a disinterest in pursuing his claim to Honoria.[30] The resulting "Battle of the Catalaunian Fields" is an ambiguous event, as Jordanes' account is so distorted and self-contradictory that one can read a number of scenarios into it. For example, Kim recently argued that the Huns actually won the battle.[31] Even if we stick with the more traditional version that Attila suffered a defeat, it could not have been much of a defeat, for Attila was strong enough to invade Italy the next year. His campaign into Italy in 452 was marred by disease that forced an early withdrawal, but he encountered no strong resistance and seems at least to have collected a sizeable payment from the Western Roman government in the process.[32] As noted above, there is no good reason to treat as implausible Jordanes' statement that Attila was still demanding Honoria after the Italian campaign. It was really Attila's death the following year—ironically at a wedding—that ended both Attila's plans for Honoria and Honoria's corresponding plans for the Hunnic king. Her later fate is unknown.

NOTES

1. Charles King, "The Veracity of Ammianus Marcellinus' Description of the Huns," *American Journal of Ancient History* 12 (1987 [=1995]): 77–95; idem, "The Huns and Central Asia: A Bibliography of Otto J. Maenchen-Helfen," *Central Asiatic Journal* [hereafter *CAJ*] 40.2 (1996): 178–87; idem, "Review of E. A. Thompson, 'The Huns,'" *CAJ* 41.1 (1997): 144–46; idem, "Review of Jenny F. So and Emma C. Bunker, *Traders and Raiders on China's Northern Frontier*," *CAJ* 41.2 (1997): 292–93.

2. Thomas Hodgkin, *Italy and Her Invaders*, 2nd edn (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1892), 2: 46–47, 101–102, 160; E. A. Thompson, *A History of Attila and the Huns* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1948), 132–34, 137–38 [= *The Huns* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1996), 145–46, 150–51]; Franz Altheim, *Attila et les Huns*, French trans. Jacques Marty (Paris: Payot, 1952), 171–73; Robert L. Hohlfelder, "Marcian's Gamble: A Reassessment of Eastern Imperial Policy toward Attila AD 450–453," *American Journal of Ancient History* 9 (1984): 55–56; Arther Ferrill, *The Fall of the Roman Empire* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1986), 147; Denis Sinor, "The Hun Period," in *The Cambridge History of Early Inner Asia*, edited by Denis Sinor, 192–93 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990); and a bit more cautiously, Peter Heather, *The Fall of the Roman Empire: A New History of Rome and the Barbarians* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 335–36.

3. J. B. Bury, "Justa Grata Honoria," *Journal of Roman Studies* 9 (1919): 1–13; Christopher Kelly, *The End of Empire: Attila the Hun & the Fall of Rome* (New York: Norton, 2009), 224–30; Brian Croke, ed. and trans., *The Chronicle of Marcellinus: Translation and Commentary* (Sydney: Australian Association for Byzantine Studies, 1995), 80–81; and idem, "Dynasty and Aristocracy in the Fifth Century," in *The Cambridge Companion to the Age of Attila*, edited by Michael Maas, 112–16 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015); Hagith Sivan, *Galla Placidia: The Last Roman Empress* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 153–58; Kenneth G. Holum, *Theodosian Empresses: Women and Imperial Dominion in Late Antiquity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982), 1–5; Stewart Irvin Oost, *Galla Placidia Augusta: A Biographical Essay* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968),

282–86; Michael D. Blodgett, *Attila, Flagellum Dei? Huns and Romans, Conflict and Cooperation in the Late Antique World*, Dissertation (University of California Santa Barbara, 2007), 117–55.

4. Otto J. Maenchen-Helfen, *The World of the Huns: Studies in Their History and Culture* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973), 130, 456–57, strongly endorsed by Edward N. Luttwak, *The Grand Strategy of the Byzantine Empire* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap, 2009), 42. Maenchen-Helfen's book appeared posthumously, and it is interesting to note that the editor added a "Background" chapter by Paul Alexander that treats the story as true (481).

5. Hyun Jin Kim, *The Huns* (New York: Routledge, 2016), 96, also in *The Huns, Rome and the Birth of Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 78 and 218n306 [hereafter Kim, *HRBE*].

6. I am using here the numbering system of Priscus's fragments from R. C. Blockley, ed. and trans., *The Fragmentary Classicising Historians of the Later Roman Empire: Eunapius, Olympiodorus, Priscus, and Malchus*, 2 vols (Liverpool: Francis Cairns, 1981 and 1983). The translations I use in this chapter of Priscus are those from Blockley, vol. 2. I have also consulted the more recent text of Pia Carolla, ed., *Priscus Panita Excerpta* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2008), and a more recent translation by John Given, *The Fragmentary History of Priscus* (Merchantville: Evolution Publishing, 2014).

7. J. B. Bury, "Justa Grata Honoria," passim, followed by John Martindale in A. H. M. Jones, J. R. Martindale, and J. Morris, *The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire*, 3 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971–1992), 2: 568–69 [hereafter, the *PLRE*]; and Hagith Sivan, *Galla Placidia*, 153n50.

8. Oost, *Galla Placidia Augusta*, 283 and n.115. Oost does otherwise accept Bury's dating. Bury, "Justa Grata Honoria," 10, questions Jordanes' independence as a source, suggesting that he relied on Marcellinus.

9. Croke, *The Chronicle of Marcellinus*, 80–81, endorsed by Christopher Kelly, *The End of Empire: Attila the Hun & the Fall of Rome* (New York: Norton, 2009), 224–30.

10. Sivan, *Galla Placidia*, 154–55.

11. Maenchen-Helfen, *World of the Huns*, 456–57; Steven Muhlberger, *The Fifth-Century Chroniclers: Prosper, Hydatius, and the Gallic Chronicler of 452* (Liverpool: Francis Cairns, 1990), 144–46.

12. Kim, *The Huns* (New York: Routledge, 2016), 96 and 107n14, citing Arne Søby Christensen, *Cassiodorus, Jordanes and the History of the Goths: Studies in a Migration Myth* (Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press, 2002), 329.

13. Christensen, *Cassiodorus*, 328–29 and n.46. It is worth noting that editors normally agree with Christensen that Jordanes' material about 451 is not Priscian. Blockley's text includes only ten lines out of several pages of material (*Getica*, 36.184 as fragment 20.2). Carolla's text and Given's translation both omit even that. It is also strange for Kim to treat either Honoria or Gaiseric as markers of Cassiodoran material. As Maenchen-Helfen (in note 11 above) stressed, the evidence for Honoria is overwhelmingly from Eastern sources. One also cannot say that Gaiseric is intrinsically a non-Priscian subject. It may be that Jordanes puts more emphasis on Gaiseric

in the events of 451 than do the Greek Priscian fragments, but later fragments cover various aspects of Vandal history. See 38.1–2, 39.1, and 41.1.

14. Ernest Barker, "Italy and the West, 410–476," in *The Cambridge Medieval History, Volume I*, 1st edn, edited by H. M. Gwatkin and J. P. Whitney, 415 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1911). Cf. works cited in notes 4 and 5 above.

15. For sources, see entries on "Ariadne," "Basiliscus 2," "Pulcheria," and "Verina," *PLRE* 2: 140–41, 212–14, 929–30, 1156. On Galla Placidia, see Oost, *Galla Placida Augusta*; and Sivan, *Galla Placidia*. On Pulcheria and imperial women more broadly, see Holum, *Theodosian Empresses*. Cf. also Michael McCormick, "Emperor and Court," in *The Cambridge Ancient History, Volume XIV*, 135–63 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

16. Stilicho's career is perhaps best approached through Thomas S. Burns, *Barbarians within the Gates of Rome: A Study of Roman Military Policy and the Barbarians, Ca. 375–425 A.D* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1994), 112–223. Cf. Heather, *Fall of the Roman Empire*, 216–24.

17. This is of course just the briefest summary of more complex events. See "Aetius 7" in *PLRE* 2: 21–29; Heather, *Fall of the Roman Empire*, 281–375.

18. Blockley, *The Fragmentary Classicising Historians*, 1: 69–70.

19. Although placing their emphasis a bit differently, both Holum, *Theodosian Empresses*, 1–5, and Blodgett, *Attila, Flagellum Dei?* 117–55, also argue that Honoria was making a bid for political influence.

20. Blodgett, *Attila, Flagellum Dei?*, 25–26, and with more elaboration, 128–30.

21. Karen K. Hersch, *The Roman Wedding: Ritual and Meaning in Antiquity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 40–43.

22. On dowry, Jane F. Gardner, *Women in Roman Law and Society* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1986), 97–116; on inheritance, Richard P. Saller, *Patriarchy, Property and Death in the Roman Family* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 163–64.

23. A precedent stressed by Croke, "Dynasty and Aristocracy in the Fifth Century," 115. See footnote 3.

24. Priscus, 11.2.297–312. Cf. Blodgett, *Attila, Flagellum Dei?*, 127–28.

25. On the political context, Thompson, *The Huns*, 104–32; Hohlfelder, "Marcian's Gamble." On the names, Maenchen-Helfen, *World of the Huns*, 364, 408–409.

26. Martindale thinks "Mundo" is two people, "Mundo" and "Mundus," *PLRE* 2: 767–68 and 3B: 903–905, but his argument that Hunnic ancestry precludes Gepid ancestry does not consider intermarriage. I follow Brian Croke, "Mundo the Gepid: From Freebooter to Roman General," *Chiron* 12 (1982): 125–35; and Kim, *HRBE*, 94 and 251n5, in viewing them as the same person, though (with Kim) I do not think *Attilani origine* allows Croke's insistence that Mundo was only a Gepid. Again, one must consider intermarriage.

27. Kim, *HRBE*, 92–96.

28. Peter Heather, "Cassiodorus and the Rise of the Amals: Genealogy and the Goths under Hun Domination," *Journal of Roman Studies* 79 (1989): 103–28.

29. Kim, *HRBE*, 105–27.

30. Blodgett, *Attila, Flagellum Dei?*, 137–40.

31. Jordanes, *Getica*, 38.197–42.224; Kim, *HRBE*, 73–83. Cf. Christensen, *Cassiodorus*, 323–41, and (more traditionally) Ferrill, *The Fall of the Roman Empire*, 146–51.

32. I am following here the interpretation of R. W. Burgess, "A New Reading for Hydatius Chronicle 177 and the Defeat of the Huns in Italy," *Phoenix* 42 (1988): 357–63.

Chapter 7

The Optics of Byzantine Blinding in Medieval Eastern Europe

Christian Raffensperger

Blinding as a punishment is, in many ways, synonymous with Byzantium. It was the punishment described with such flair by Michael Psellos who tells us in reference to the blinding of Romanos Diogenes how, "bitter to be deprived of the light, and this grievously after so many prior evils, but again I am sure that enjoyment of divine light previously readied awaits you to comfort your heart because God will light undefiled light in your spirit."[1] Emperors who were being put out of office and would-be emperors who never made it into office were both candidates for the punishment of blinding in Middle Byzantium. The punishment of blinding for these individuals seems to have been, perversely to our modern imagination, a humane way to make them unfit for service as an emperor without killing them, as it removed their "wholeness of body," which was a key characteristic of an emperor.[2] It was also "tremendously effective" as "throughout the history of the Byzantine empire there was only one instance of a blind emperor ascending the throne."[3] Which is especially true given the numerous incidences of blinding in Byzantine history.[4] However, despite the presence of this chapter in a volume intended to honor Walter Kaegi, the subject here is not Byzantium (though I will address Byzantine blinding more later), but medieval eastern Europe. Walter Kaegi encouraged me to work on medieval eastern Europe while I was at the University of Chicago and published one of my first articles, which reexamined Dmitri Obolensky's idea of the Byzantine Commonwealth.[5] This article grew into the first chapter of the book *Reimagining Europe*, where it had changed from a negative view of Obolensky's Byzantine Commonwealth to the suggestion of a new idea—the Byzantine Ideal.[6] Part of the conception of the Byzantine Ideal was that Byzantium was the model empire for medieval Europe as a whole and parts of it (titulature, saints, coins, seals, etc.) were appropriated by other polities in medieval Europe (both east and west) as a means of enhancing their own legitimacy. In that chapter, I wrote a brief paragraph about blinding as a potential example of an appropriation of a Byzantine punishment.[7] I had always intended to come back to this subject and write more, and this chapter is my way of doing that, as well as a way to honor the work and teaching of Walter Kaegi who first shepherded some of these very ideas and taught me my Byzantine history. The reason that I was keen to come back to this idea was the recurring question for me of whether or not the appropriation of the "correct" practice of blinding (as punishment for treason or usurpation, or to prevent a ruler from ruling) indicated connectivity with Byzantium and Byzantine practice, or not. Thus, here I will discuss briefly the background on punishment for treason in medieval Europe, giving short examples from a variety of places; examine middle Byzantine blindings through a few examples to set up what the normative model of blinding was; and then discuss in some detail a handful of examples from Bohemia, Poland, Rus', and Hungary as a way to attempt to determine how individuals used the punishment of blinding. Perhaps through all of this, we will arrive at another means of approaching how the image of Byzantium (and all that it entails) was understood in medieval eastern Europe.

Typically, when people speak of "medieval Europe" they mean England and France; so, it is best to begin with English and French punishments as a way to see how treason was punished under the law in medieval Europe. Conveniently, due to William the Bastard's conquest of England in 1066, and a resulting revolt against him, we can combine these two differing approaches to punishing treason into one example. Inconveniently, however, the picture is not at all clear as to what was law versus common practice. The laws of William the Conqueror forbade "that anyone shall be slain or hanged for any fault, but let his eyes be put out and let him be castrated."[8] Which punishment, if effected, would spread the use of blinding well beyond treason, the normative use in Byzantium that is under discussion here. The question remains though if this was actually put into effect? A coup plot of 1075 against William himself allows us a brief examination of the punishments that were put into place against the ineffectual plotters.[9]

The conspiracy, perpetrated by a collection of nobles from Normandy, Brittany, and England, went poorly from the start, especially after Earl Ralf confessed to Archbishop Lanfranc, and the main conspirators were duly apprehended. Earl Waltheof, one of the last English earls from the days of Edward the Confessor, was found guilty of treason and conspiring against the king. He was sentenced by William I to death by beheading at the Christmas court in 1076.[10] Orderic Vitalis records this punishment as well as noting the origins as lying within English law, "The law of England punishes the traitor by beheading, and deprives his progeny of their just inheritance."[11] The punishment of beheading in English law is said to reflect an appropriation of

Roman imperial law on treason against the emperor.[12] But whatever its origin, it was contrary to the Law of William the Conqueror quoted above, and yet execution remained the typical punishment for treason throughout the Middle Ages.[13] Another of the conspirators against William was Earl Roger, who as a Norman lord faced an entirely different fate despite his participation in the same coup attempt as the English Earl Waltheof. Orderic Vitalis is also our source for this punishment, and its source, stating that Roger "was judged by the laws of the Normans, and condemned to perpetual imprisonment after forfeiting all his earthly goods."[14] Roger's fate is discussed at more length by Orderic who further notes that "[t]he king's sentence was so lasting that even after the king's death nothing but death released him from his fetters."[15] The different fate of the two plotters based upon their polity of origin is interesting from a variety of standpoints (not least that both were titularly subject to William, but one as king of England, the other as duke of Normandy and faced different fates), but for our purposes the most relevant is their different sentences for the same crime, despite William's stated preference against execution and for maiming punishments in his own law code. Earl Roger's lifetime of imprisonment and loss of property and inheritance effectively punished him, but it did leave him alive should someone choose to free him, keeping the possibility of a repeat revolution alive. Earl Waltheof did not have the same situation, removed (quite literally) from the political playing field. But as we will see, these are more commonly accepted punishments for treason than our main focus—blinding.

As we combined the territories of William I in our first set of examples, I would like to elide the Carolingian and German empires in our second set of examples. Charlemagne recognized the potential of maiming punishments as a way to deal with potential claimants, or rivals, for the throne. However, he disapproved of such measures and addressed them directly when "he forbade his sons from killing, blinding or mutilating their nephews without just cause, or forcing them into a monastery against their will."[16] While this is mildly ironic given Charlemagne's own father's treatment of his brother,[17] it does fit into a larger scheme of inheritance issues among the Carolingians. Gerd Althoff, who has studied this in great detail, talks about the increasing number of uncles attempting to remove fatherless nephews from positions where they might inherit.[18] This situation is normal, I would suggest, given the practice of partible inheritance as families expand and there are increasing numbers of potential heirs to the same, or fewer, positions of power. Charlemagne's edict, nonetheless, is an important stand against blinding as a tool to remove potential heirs, or (by extrapolation) as a punishment for treasonous rebels. Under the Ottonian emperors, there are at least two instances of blinding, though they do not quite fit the model of blinding that we view as normative for punishing rebellion. Thietmar of Merseburg records that Otto

III ordered the blinding of a Count Rudolf and two others on the charge of "oppressing the bishopric and the *pauperes* of Rimini."[19] Althoff suggests that this is a unique punishment in the German empire.[20] Given our understanding of the normative use of this punishment as one for treason, this also does not fit with that model. Klaus van Eickels, who has examined maiming punishments in Western Europe, suggests that "[i]n Anglo-Saxon England and in post-Carolingian Europe maiming aristocrats was considered barbarian cruelty."[21] While this may be a bit of an overstatement, perhaps we can conclude that blinding was actually rare as a punishment in the Carolingian and German empires, and that as time progressed from the one empire to the other, the meaning of blinding changed from a means of removing someone's eligibility for rule (as was acknowledged in Charlemagne's prohibition), to a simple means of maiming an individual guilty of a crime.

There is one additional example of blinding that I would like to discuss, prefatory to setting out the Byzantine examples of blinding, and then proceeding to medieval eastern Europe. This concerns the blinding of Magnus Sigurdsson of Norway. King Magnus was the son of Sigurd the Crusader, and after Sigurd's death in 1130, Magnus shared power in Norway with his uncle Harald Gilli.[22] However, the two rival co-kings eventually ended up fighting openly and in 1135, Magnus was defeated and while captured by Harald he was blinded (along with being castrated and losing a limb).[23] Following these punishments, he was put into a monastery. While it is clear that Harald Gilli had not read Charlemagne's admonition to his sons, violating nearly every principle, it is also clear that Harald was attempting to remove Magnus as a viable coruler of Norway. Thus, we could argue that Harald was in fact using blinding correctly according to our normative understanding of the punishment in Byzantine terms. However, given the political instability of the twelfth century in Norway (and in fact, the death of Magnus himself later in the 1130s is often said to be the beginning of a century-long civil war), if blinding were a normative punishment in Norway, we should see more of it. Instead, this is the only instance of blinding of a Norwegian claimant to the throne during this period.[24] Moreover, Magnus does eventually leave the monastery and takes rule over Norway with the epithet "the Blind," perhaps contravening the purpose of the blinding in the first place. Though Snorri Sturluson, in his *Heimskringla*, suggests that Magnus was nothing more than a figurehead,[25] he was also a blind ruler—something that should theoretically not happen under our normative conception of blinding. Which leads us to the, potentially, logical conclusion that this was merely a mutilation/maiming punishment which contained blinding, not a purposeful use of blinding as a way to exclude Magnus from the eligible pool of rulers.

These examples of punishment for treason or acts of blinding in various parts of western and northern Europe merely serve as an introduction to the variety of punishments and views of blinding going on in the western portion of medieval Europe. The remainder of the chapter will be devoted to an examination of the Byzantine punishment of blinding, including various examples of blinding in Byzantium from this period. And then a close study of several instances of blinding punishments in medieval eastern Europe. The goal of all of this will be to study blinding as punishment for its potential connection to the Byzantine ideal of blinding as a tool to remove possible contenders for the throne.

BYZANTINE BLINDING

Blinding served multiple purposes in Byzantium, much as it had in Rome, however the dominant reason for blinding in the empire, especially in the Middle Byzantine period, was as a punishment for usurpation, potential usurpation, general rebellion against the throne, or for those emperors unfortunate enough to be the victims of such usurpations and rebellions.[26] A. P. Kazhdan and Ann Wharton Epstein note that in the seventh century, the blinding of "uncles and cousins . . . became almost obligatory," and that there were echoes of this still in the Middle Byzantine period.[27] While "almost obligatory" may be a slight exaggeration, we have only to look at the list of blindings compiled by O. Lampsides in his 1949 dissertation to see the large number that occurred in the Middle Byzantine period, as well as the typical causes of rebellion and potential usurpation.[28] Rather than redoing that work, I merely offer here a few examples of blinding in Middle Byzantium to demonstrate what I will refer to as the "normative" model for blinding in Byzantium, as punishment for rebellion against, or usurpation of, the throne. It is important to remember, given the cognitive dissonance of the idea for the twenty-first-century mind, that the Byzantines, much as others, viewed blinding as a humane punishment which preserved the life of the individual.[29] Thus, the few examples of blinding illustrated here can be seen as humane examples of punishment for usurpers, at least to the Byzantine mind.

Michael V's brief rule in the middle of the eleventh century was brought to an end by his own actions, and those of the populace of Constantinople, but his position as emperor ended via his blinding. Michael V, well aware of the changing mood of the populace, fled the imperial palace with his uncle the *nobelissimus*, taking refuge in the Stoudios Monastery.[30] The two were found there, dragged out, and on the orders of the Augusta Theodora were blinded.[31] Both Michael Psellos and Michael Attaleiates agree upon the *nobelissimus*'s bravery and Michael V's cowardice in the face of the blinding. However, they do not agree on the method, interestingly enough. Psellos notes that the *nobelissimus*'s eyes "were then gouged, one after the other."[32] While

Attaleiates specifically details the process in which “the pupils of their eyes were punctured with needles.”[33] The two sources converge once again though upon the consequences with Attaleiates stating, “In this way they lost their sight along with the imperial power” while for Psellos, “[a]fter his eyes, too, had been blinded, the insolence of the mob, so marked before, died away, and with it their fury against these men.”[34] The act of blinding Michael V, as far as all involved were concerned, removed him from the imperial throne and even from consideration as a possible threat to anyone. This blinding of an emperor is thus an excellent example of the normative use of this punishment, removing someone’s fitness to rule Byzantium.

Another well-known instance of the blinding of an emperor to remove him from rule is the blinding of Nikephoras Bryennios on the orders of Nikephoras III Botaneiates. The conflict between the two, at base to see who would usurp Michael VII, was fought on Botaneiates’s part often by Alexios Komnenos. After Botaneiates proclaimed himself emperor and Alexios Komnenos captured Bryennios, Komnenos then received orders to have Bryennios blinded. Michael Attaleiates, a contemporary, again provides us a description of events that highlights the importance of blinding for the removal of an emperor. The emperor Botaneiates “quickly dispatched executioners to cut out Bryennios’s eyes wherever they should encounter him. For he knew that it was disadvantageous for a man who sought the imperial throne to retain his sight, as he was truly incapable of settling down as a private individual, but would stir up trouble.”[35] The only way, it was understood by the Byzantine elite, represented by Attaleiates, who was recording the possible words and motives of Botaneiates, to effectively remove a living emperor was through blinding. By blinding him, it would make him unable to rule, and in fact it was also a mercy, as Attaleiates continued, Botaneaites “could not bear to bring capital charges against many people for his sake, he purchased the salvation of the many and his own peace and repose in exchange for that man’s eyes.”[36] Rather than engage in widespread killing, the blinding of a rival was sufficient to end the conflict and remove the fallen candidate for emperor from contention. This is, again, an example of the normative use, and understanding, of blinding in Middle Byzantium.

Both of these examples of blinding are of sitting emperors who were overthrown and blinded. And while this is a major category of blinding as punishment, it is not the only one; another major use of blinding is to punish potential usurpation of the throne. There are multiple examples of individuals raising armies, making plots, and by other means attempting to unseat the current emperor. Attaleiates briefly details the revolt of Leon Tornikios against Konstantinos IX Monomachos.[37] The rebellion looked like it might take Constantinople, but then it all ended badly for Tornikios and he was forced into hiding in the church at Boulgarophyron with his general, Batatzes. From there, the two were dragged before the emperor, and "[w]ithout being given a chance to speak, they were blinded at the hands of the executioners."[38] Anna Komnene tells of a similar encounter with rebels that her father had during his reign. Nikephoras Diogenes, whose father was deposed and blinded, rebelled against Alexios Komnenos, along with others. Though the emperor chose to be lenient with them, and even talked of caring for Nikephoras and his brother Leo after their father's deposition, "certain men" made the decision to have Nikephoras and his coconspirator Kekaumenos Katakalon blinded.[39] Anna notes that there is some controversy over this action, and even she does not know how much her father was involved. However, as we have seen, this is a normal consequence of revolting against the emperor. Similarly, Niketas Choniates preserves the last example we will look at of this type of blinding. Konstantinos Angelos Dukas, a relative of the emperor Isaakios Angelos, took it into his head to rebel against the throne, after a few successful military engagements versus the Vlachs.[40] Not long after donning the red boots, Konstantinos's allies turned him over to the emperor who pardoned them and punished Konstantinos with blinding.[41] In a variety of sources, through middle Byzantine history, we see a consistent use of blinding as a punishment for usurpation, leading us to be able to categorize it as one of the normative uses of blinding as a punishment in this period.

Blinding in middle Byzantine history, and in the relevant texts, could have multiple causes. Andronikos Komnenos, after taking the rebellious city of Prusa, inflicted a host of punishments on the inhabitants, including blinding.[42] While the city had rebelled, this was not necessarily punishment for any attempted usurpation, simply punishment, as other maiming punishments such as dismemberment were included. Of course, this also came back to Andronikos later as similar indignities were imposed upon him when he was removed from the throne.[43] Despite these other, occasional, instances of blinding, what I hope to have demonstrated here is that the normative purpose for the punishment of blinding in middle Byzantium was to remove individuals from eligibility for the throne and/or to punish potential usurpers who were trying to take the throne. If we accept this as normative, the next question then is, was this model replicated in medieval eastern Europe?[44]

BLINDING IN RUS′

In the *Povest' vremmenykh let* (hereafter the PVL) under the year 1097, the chronicler records the blinding of Vasil'ko Rostislavich.[45] The events recorded under the year 1097 have been demonstrated to have occurred over several years, as can be seen in the repetition of pieces of the events in 1099, but they are included in 1097 as a whole and complete story—one which revolves around the blinding of Vasil'ko.[46] Though I will discuss the ramifications of the issue, to begin I will recapitulate the story, briefly, to provide context for our discussion.

The entry for 1097 begins with information about a peace conference held among the Volodimerovichi, the ruling clan of Rus', and led by Sviatopolk Iziaslavich of Kiev, the paramount ruler of Rus'.[47] Following the peace conference, one member of the family, David Igorevich, began to plot against other members of the family, and approached Sviatopolk to gain his support. To do so, David told Sviatopolk that he had heard that Vasil'ko Rostislavich was plotting with Sviatopolk's main rival Volodimer Monomakh, to take over the throne of Kiev. Once convinced of this, Sviatopolk empowered David Igorevich to move against Vasil'ko Rostislavich (perhaps assuming Volodimer Monomakh was too powerful to be touched). David specifically "urged that Vasil'ko should be blinded, on the ground that if Svyatopolk did nothing and released Vasil'ko, neither he himself nor Svyatopolk would be able to retain their thrones much longer."[48] David then ordered his retainers to take Vasil'ko and blind him, which was done by a Tork (one of the nomadic peoples living in the south of Rus') who "struck him in one eye, and took out the pupil, and then in the other, and also removed the pupil of the latter."[49] The deed done, word began to spread throughout Rus' and the other members of the Volodimerovichi were shocked and appalled that such a thing had happened, with the PVL reporting that some cried saying, "Such a thing never before happened in our family."[50] The denouement then involved prolonged multiparty conflict, as well as multiple negotiations. But for our purposes the deed was done.

As noted by the Olgovichi brothers (above), such a punishment had never before occurred in the history of Rus'. In fact, Donald Ostrowski has pointed out that it would not be until the fifteenth century that there is another instance of blinding among the Volodimerovichi or their descendants.[51] In the history of Rus', it was actually quite rare for there to be punishments of any sort beyond land confiscation or money paid. One of the rare examples of punishment came with the imprisonment of Vseslav Briacheslavich after his attack on Novgorod earlier in the eleventh century.[52] Then, the ruler of Rus' Iziaslav Iaroslavich and his two brothers moved against Vseslav and through betrayal captured him. Vseslav was imprisoned in Kiev, only to be freed after a short time, taking control of Kiev for seven months.[53] I emphasize this lack of punishment to really highlight how rare it is that this member of the Volodimerovichi clan was blinded as a punishment.

Why, then, was Vasil'ko blinded? P. P. Tolochko, drawing on a tradition of Russian scholarship, suggests that he was blinded because Vasil'ko was a threat to the Byzantine empire, due to his stated intentions to invade the Danubian lands.[54] While it is true that the PVL records that Vasil'ko said, after the blinding, that he wanted to subject the Danube Bulgars, he also wanted to invade Poland and then conquer the Polovtsy.[55] I confess to finding it unlikely that a relatively minor player like Vasil'ko Rostislavich would have had the wherewithal to do any of this, even if he had the desire. It seems much more likely that these were words placed in his mouth to make of him an even more tragic figure—one who was going to avenge Rus' against its historic foes before his eyes were taken from him. This view of Vasil'ko as a tragic figure accords with that put forward by Peter Rolland, who compares him to the Rusian saint Boris.[56] However, for Rolland as well, the Byzantine narrative is an inescapable one, as he suggests that this was an attempt to introduce a "Byzantine political practice" into Rus'.[57] Having weighed in on this before, briefly, I expressed doubt about the blinding of Vasil'ko's conformity to the model of Byzantine blinding.[58] But while I may continue to be skeptical of the direct connection with Byzantium, I would agree with both Tolochko and Rolland's basic principle, which is that the blinding of Vasil'ko could fit the model of blinding a potential rival, or claimant for the throne. David Igorevich, though most likely not telling the truth, convinced the ruler Sviatopolk that Vasil'ko and Volodimer Monomakh were plotting together, including noting several times that they would take his (Sviatopolk's) throne. Though Volodimer, the more powerful threat, is not blinded, it is plausible that Vasil'ko may also have been viewed as a threat to the throne and thus a potential usurper who could be blinded in the Byzantine model.

All of this said, where does this tradition come from? Tolochko's suggestion of direct Byzantine involvement is, on its face, highly unlikely. The Byzantines of this period were deeply involved in the progress of the First Crusade, and were not at all interested in Rus'—as one may note from their complete exclusion from mention in the best source of the period, Anna Komnene's *Alexiad*. Similarly, I cannot agree with Rolland that this is an attempt to bring in Byzantine political practice by Rusian rulers. Where would they have learned of the practice in the first place? We have almost no evidence of direct contact between Rusian rulers and Byzantines in this century; thus forcing us to posit an unknown source of transmission. Such a source of transmission is especially unnecessary when we have a source of knowledge right in front of us, and that is the writer of the PVL himself. The monk who wrote the PVL, whoever he may have been, lived in a monastery associated with the Rusian church, the head of which was typically a Byzantine appointee. Moreover, there were, in Rus', a variety of Byzantine books translated into Slavonic, which were read by the monks.[59] A clear marker of this is the excerpts of the Chronicle of George Hamartolous, which are included in the earliest portions of the PVL and which were most likely translated in Kiev itself in the eleventh century. Additionally, the chronicle was expanded in the tenth century to include events up to 948, and it is this edition that made its way into the Slavonic reading world.[60] In the expanded edition of that chronicle, there is a revolt against Romanos I, which is put down by one of Romanos's generals and many of the leaders of the revolt were blinded, while others were put into a monastery.[61] Given that the compiler of the PVL used the chronicle of George Hamartolous, he would have known of the Byzantine use of blinding and had a model close at hand. Where this leaves us is still in a problematic state—did the blinding actually happen as written, or did the PVL chronicler add it as flavor to the text to highlight Vasil'ko's suffering but not death, thereby encouraging a comparison to the passion-suffers SS. Boris and Gleb?[62] The difference is an important one as we can track Byzantine influence more clearly in the textual interpolation of information than we can in the actual use of blinding as a political tool. As it is difficult to be sure which is the source or cause of the information, we are left with a question mark as to Byzantine influence on this one and only incidence of blinding in Rus'.

BLINDING IN POLAND

There are several examples of blinding in Poland, during the eleventh and twelfth centuries, and we will briefly look at what I believe are the three most important examples of blinding, those of Zbigniew, Skarbimir, and Piotr Włostowic. With our focus on whether or not blinding is practiced in the normative Byzantine fashion (as punishment for usurpation, potential or actual), it is surprising that of the three examples under discussion in Poland, only one deals with a member of the ruling Mieszkowice family.[63] In fact, if we include a late-tenth-century pair of examples, narrated by Thietmar of Merseburg, there is a strong majority of the few blindings under examination that are not perpetrated against members of the ruling clan.[64] Whether membership in the royal clan is an essential prerequisite for the normative punishment of blinding will be examined here as we look at the purposes of three particular blindings in Poland.

The first two blindings are both committed on behalf of Bolesław III; those of Zbigniew and Skarbimir. The two are related, not only in regard to their perpetrator, but in their conflict with one another. The crux of the problem between Bolesław III and Zbigniew was one of rule. They were both sons of Władysław Herman, one by a concubine (Zbigniew) and one by his wife, Judith (Bolesław).[65] It seems as though they were intended to rule jointly after the death of their father, but instead Bolesław (much as his namesake Bolesław I Chrobry) took sole rule for himself.[66] This action set off a series of conflicts between the two in which each tried to rally different power bases for themselves, including utilizing situational kinship networks to gather reinforcements. In these conflicts, Bolesław III typically had the upper hand and eventually in 1107 he was able to expel Zbigniew from Polish territory.[67] The grounds for the expulsion are provided by the *Gesta Principum Polonorum*, the best (and only) narrative source for this period: "So Bolesław, on seeing that his brother had shown himself faithless in every promise and every oath, and since he set himself ever against the whole land, harmful and liable to harm, he banished him from the entire realm of Poland."[68] This is, of course, not the end of Zbigniew's involvement in Polish affairs, but it does provide one of the possible causes for his blinding: his return from exile. After Zbigniew and Bolesław negotiate a return agreement, we are told that Zbigniew immediately began to break the conditions of his return, including taking royal symbols for himself.[69] Which, with the intervention of the requisite "evil counsellors," led Bolesław to do something sinful, as the *Gesta Principum Polonorum* records.[70] We are told what the sin is, blinding, only as a negative example by Cosmas of Prague in his chronicle where he has Duke Vladislav say, "I do not want in any way to be compared to the Polish Duke Bolesław, who summoned his brother Zbigniew with evil intentions, under an oath of loyalty, and deprived him of his eyes on the third day."[71] The opprobrium with which Vladislav refers to Bolesław was, it seems, not a rare reaction. Zbigniew Dalewski, among other Polish scholars, has suggested, "This bloody deed met with a negative reaction in public opinion, and Bolesław was forced to undergo a humiliating public penance."[72] This penance, a pilgrimage trip to Hungary, was an important atonement for the blinding,[73] but even more so was the construction of the *Gesta Principum Polonorum* itself; the purpose of which it has been suggested was to praise Bolesław III and recover from the negative reaction to the blinding of his brother.[74] Which naturally leads to the suspicion that blinding was a problem for Bolesław's people, or magnates, and thus he needed expiation for it. However, it is not made clear anywhere for what Bolesław is doing penance. Wiszewski, who has analyzed these texts in some detail, suggests that it has more to do with Bolesław's status as a ruler, or potentially a personal rapprochement with Zbigniew, though the latter is very unclear from the sources.[75] I would add another reason that blinding (qua blinding) might not be the main sin, from my own work which is that violence against near kin may be seriously frowned upon.[76] But the most persuasive piece of evidence against blinding being the main sin requiring expiation is that Bolesław does it again, just a few years later!

The second blinding related to Bolesław III is that of Skarbimir. Skarbimir was a member of the powerful Awdancy family, which had backed Bolesław III's rise to power against Zbigniew.[77] Skarbimir himself had fought at Bolesław III's side against Zbigniew more than once.[78] However, with the defeat of Zbigniew, it seems that Bolesław III moved to consolidate his power, and that Skarbimir was a victim of that consolidation.[79] Skarbimir, either alone or in conjunction with allies, revolted against Bolesław III and was defeated.[80] In consequence, Bolesław III had him "blinded as a traitor."[81] While the words are Manteuffel's, the sentiment seems clear from the actions of both Skarbimir and Bolesław III, and thus the use of blinding is in keeping with that which we have deemed normative. Moreover, it was not the blinding of a family member, or in violation of an oath, and there is no evidence whatsoever that Bolesław did, or felt required to do, penance for this blinding.

The third and final blinding to discuss in regard to Poland in this period is that of Piotr Włostowic. Piotr was a powerful count palatine and a loyal favorite of Bolesław III; so much of a favorite that Bolesław III arranged a marriage between his wife's sister, Maria, and Piotr, making them brothers-in-law.[82] Piotr continued his support of the Mieszkowice after Bolesław III's death when Władysław II (son of Bolesław III and his Rusian wife) inherited the throne. This support was crucial as Władysław II was often in conflict with his half-brothers, sons of Bolesław III and Salomea.[83] Following a series of conflicts between the two sides; for reasons largely unexplained, Piotr Włostowic switched his support to Władysław II's half-brothers in 1145.[84] In retaliation for the betrayal and resulting support of his enemies, Władysław II had Piotr blinded and banished to Rus'.[85] This blinding, in different ways akin to both that of Zbigniew and Skarbimir above, only partially fits the normative model of blinding as punishment for usurpation. Piotr as an uncle of Władysław II might qualify for the protection given to family, and thus he was blinded and exiled as a punishment, rather than killed. While, similar to Skarbimir, he is not directly trying to usurp the throne, but rather moving against the authority of the ruler—a general insurrection or rebellion rather than usurpation. Thus, the blinding of Piotr Włostowic seems to fit the pattern of blindings within Poland discussed here.

As a whole, all three of the blindings in Poland discussed above seem to fit the pattern of a blinding as punishment for rebellion against the ruler. The case of Zbigniew is certainly one in which Bolesław III seems to be attempting to remove a rival for power by making him ineligible for rule. The blindings of the magnates, while punishment for rebellion (or perceived rebellion) against the ruler, are not removing usurpers or potential usurpers, but are certainly in the same broad category of punishment. It certainly appears then that what we are seeing in the case of Poland is largely, if not entirely, blinding for the purposes deemed normative in Middle Byzantium.

BLINDING IN HUNGARY

Unfortunately for modern historians, the source base for eleventh- and twelfth-century Hungary is even worse than that of Rus' and Poland in many ways. Despite that, we do have some later sources which discuss this time, as well as multiple foreign commentaries on Hungary from Poles, Germans, Byzantines, and others. In that group of sources, there are two incidences of blinding, and both will be examined here to see whether they fit the normative Byzantine model.

The two cases of blinding in this period of Hungarian history are that of the father and son, Almos and Béla, the latter of whom in fact is called "the Blind" during his tenure of rule. Thus, despite the incidents being well known, blinding clearly does not serve the primary purpose that we have discussed, disqualifying someone from rule, but equally certainly this was its intent. This case of blinding, which will be discussed more fully below, is well known to Byzantinists because it appears in multiple Byzantine sources, and Almos takes refuge at the Byzantine court. In fact, Ioannes Kinnamos uses the event to suggest a more widespread practice among the Árpád elite, that a new ruler blinded his brothers to prevent them from claiming the throne, and thereby disenfranchising the new ruler's own son.[86] Kinnamos's account gets several things wrong; including the relationship of King Stephen II to Almos, as well as the very practice of blinding among the Árpáds. But what he does get right is the difficult transition being made in the late eleventh and twelfth century between lateral and lineal inheritance for the Árpád throne. The first attempt at a shift to lineal inheritance came in the second half of the eleventh century when Andrew made his son Salomon coruler. After Andrew's death, this was challenged by his brother Géza, which led to a conflict that brought in members of their kin from the German Empire and Poland, as well as elsewhere.[87] In the twelfth century, it seems that King Koloman was worried about a similar situation and thus instigated the blinding.

Koloman and his brother Almos had a contentious relationship throughout their majority, with multiple conflicts between them, including engaging in dynastic marriages to shape their own independent kinship webs to better gain assistance. Koloman's own second marriage backfired rather dramatically in this regard, when he repudiated his second wife (Evfimiia) and her son Boris, shortly before his own death in 1116. Boris would spend his adult life vying with his Árpád relatives to claim the throne of Hungary that he believed to be his.[88] Obviously, Koloman could not know this was in the future, but he might have suspected. He also was well aware that his brother was alive and had an heir of his own, Béla, making him a persistent threat to Koloman's sole heir, the fifteen-year-old Stephen. Kinnamos's statement of the situation was not, then, suspect, simply his elaboration that it was a common practice of the Árpáds. Close to his death, Koloman ordered that his brother and nephew be blinded, castrated, and confined to a monastery. There are multiple sources that record the blinding, and as was noted, Béla even later uses the nickname "the Blind."[89] However, there is only one source that mentions that the castration happened, and that is Cosmas of Prague.[90] Interestingly, the *Hungarian Illuminated Chronicle*, which was commissioned much later by those favorable to Béla the Blind, noted that the castration was ordered, but never carried out.[91]

The use, or attempted use, of these three punishments of blinding, castration, and monastic seclusion, on their own, are enough to draw a reasonable conclusion as to the purpose of Koloman's order. But, unlike with some of the cases examined already, the multiple mentions of the blinding of Almos and Béla do discuss the cause of this specific punishment. Oddly enough it is Cosmas of Prague who once again provides the fullest account of what happens.[92] Cosmas writes that Koloman, "fearing that his brother Álmos would reign after him" had him blinded and castrated.[93] Though the source is late, and biased against Koloman, the *Hungarian Illuminated Chronicle* also notes that Koloman ordered this so that Almos would not succeed him.[94] While these may be imputing motive to Koloman, it does fit with the implications of the punishments, and of course also with the normative uses of blinding as discussed herein.

What makes this case exceptional, and much better known than most of the others, is that despite the blinding, and possible castration, Béla does end up taking the Árpád throne and ruling. Almos fled to the Byzantine court of Ioannes Komnenos in the mid-1120s, escaping from his monastic seclusion.[95] Ioannes was married to an Árpád princess, and while that may have been a factor, tweaking the current ruler of Hungary (Stephen II) may have been a more effective incentive to harbor Almos; as Stephen II and Ioannes were engaged in intermittent conflict in the Balkans.[96] Almos died in Byzantium without ever gaining the throne of Hungary. His son, Béla, however, stayed in Hungary, most likely in a monastery, which is where Stephen found him when he was worried about his own succession.[97] Stephen took him out of the monastery, made him the heir and even helped to arrange a marriage for Béla with Jelena, the daughter of Ban Beloś.[98] How Béla could rule after having been blinded, castrated, and confined to a monastery is something of a mystery. Perhaps he was not castrated after all, as the *Hungarian Illuminated Chronicle* suggested. Perhaps his blinding was not particularly thorough, and he did have some sight, as the authors Lascarator and Marketos suggest happened on occasion.[99] Regardless of the how, we do know that Béla II did rule, and that his wife Jelena even gathered together the Hungarian nobles and punished them for blinding her husband and his father.[100] The two of them had children, and it was their line that continued to rule Hungary until the end of the Árpáds.[101]

Whatever hypotheses we can concoct for how Béla II came to rule, we know that he did. And the sources tell us that both he and his father Almos were blinded, and possibly castrated, by Koloman to purposefully put them out of the line of succession to the Árpádian throne. This is, then, perhaps the most clear-cut example of a blinding in medieval eastern Europe that conforms to the normative rationale for blinding in Byzantium; even if it did not work out as planned.

Where does this all leave us then, in regard to our initial question about whether or not the normative purpose of blinding in Byzantium is being replicated in medieval eastern Europe? It seems that in the majority of cases examined, in Rus', Poland, and Hungary, the punishment of blinding was committed for the reasons we have established as normative in middle Byzantine history. Further, it seems that blinding punishments were less common in medieval western Europe in this same time, though the law of William the Conqueror does actually stipulate blinding. Dimitri Obolensky's idea of a "Byzantine Commonwealth" would suggest that polities in the orbit of Byzantium, such as Rus' and the Balkans, might have absorbed Byzantine culture, which could include blinding.[102] However, while Obolensky may have acknowledged the position of Hungary on the periphery of that commonwealth, Poland was certainly well outside of it. I have offered the idea elsewhere of the Byzantine Ideal, in which Byzantium is the model of empire *par excellence* and as such is appropriated by all of the polities of medieval Europe, east and west.[103] It is certainly possible that this model is applicable here, in that Byzantium could be the source of this normative idea of blinding as punishment for usurpation seen in these models. In fact, one might even stretch the influence of Byzantium to the laws of William the Conqueror, whose Normans were quite active in the Mediterranean world of Byzantium and who, according to Bernard Bachrach, were instrumental in William's conquest of Anglo-Saxon England.[104] The problem with such an idea is demonstrating how connectivity and transport of ideas are established. As was noted in regard to Rus', the author or compiler of the PVL had at his disposal a textual example of Byzantine blinding in the chronicle of George Hamarolous. It might even be possible to suggest something similar for the author of the *Deeds of the Princes of the Poles* who has been identified with the monk of Lido, author of *Translatio S. Nicolai*, and thus spent time in the Italian peninsula where there was definite Byzantine influence.[105] Nevertheless, this kind of textual transmission does not help us with the Hungarian example, or the presence in Cosmas of Prague's narrative of these instances of blinding. It is impossible to say with any certainty that the use of blinding in Rus', Poland, and Hungary was directly connected to the use of blinding in Byzantium. At best, we can suggest the possibility that this is true, and that there was a model, a Byzantine Ideal, that was appropriated by these other polities of medieval Europe. Nor can we say definitively how ideas and information were transmitted. We are left to simply posit the existence of the interconnectivity of these societies and ideas through marriages, religious missions, military conflicts, and even actions, such as blinding.

NOTES

1. "82. To the emperor Diogenes when he was blinded (trans. from *Bibliotheca graeca Medii Aevi*. ed. Constantine Sathas. Venice, 1876. v. 316–318)," translated by Scott Kennedy and found at http://speculumlinguarumetlitterarum.blogspot.com/2011/12/michael-psellos-between-war-and-cruelty.html.

2. John Lascaratos and S. Marketos, "The Penalty of Blinding during Byzantine Times: Medical Remarks," *Documenta opthalmologica* 81.1 (1992): 134.

3. Ibid.

4. O. Lampsides, *O Poine tes tyfloseos para Byzantinois* (Athens: University of Athens, 1949).

5. Christian Raffensperger, "Revisiting the Idea of the Byzantine Commonwealth," *Byzantinische Forschungen* 28 (2004): 159–74.

6. Christian Raffensperger, *Reimagining Europe: Kievan Rus' in the Medieval World* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2012), Ch. 1.

7. Ibid., 26–27.

8. "The 'Laws of William the Conqueror," in *English Historical Documents, 1042–1189*, edited by David C. Douglas and George W. Greenaway, 400 (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1953). For analysis see, Klaus van Eickels, "Gendered Violence: Castration and Blinding as Punishment for Treason in Normandy and Anglo-Norman England," *Gender and History* 16.3 (2004): 588–602.

9. Frank Barlow, *William I and the Norman Conquest* (New York: Collier Books, 1965), 56–59.

10. Orderic Vitalis, *The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*, vol. 2 (books III and IV), ed. and trans. Marjorie Chibnall (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1975), Bk 4, 314–15.

11. Ibid.

12. Frederick Pollock and Frederic William Maitland, *The History of English Law, Volume 1: Before the Time of Edward I*, 2nd edn (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1899), 51.

13. Ibid.; van Eickels, "Gendered Violence," 589.

14. Vitalis, *Ecclesiastical History*, Bk 4, 318–19.

15. Ibid.

16. Gerd Althoff, *Family, Friends, and Followers: Political and Social Bonds in Early Medieval Europe*, trans. Christopher Carroll (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 44.

17. Constance Bouchard comments on this in a fascinating way, with a reimagining of what might have happened. "Childeric III and the Emperors Drogo Magnus and Pippin the Pious," *Medieval Prosopography* 28 (2013): 1–16.

18. Althoff, *Family, Friends, and Followers*, 43–44.

19. Gerd Althoff, *Otto III*, trans. Phyllis G. Jestice (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2003), 60.

20. Ibid.

21. van Eickels, "Gendered Violence," 592.

22. Snorri Sturluson, *Heimskringla: History of the Kings of Norway*, trans. Lee M. Hollander (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1964), 714.

23. Ibid., 723; idem, *Knytlinga Saga: The History of the Kings of Denmark*, trans. Hermann Pálsson and Paul Edwards (Odense: Odense University Press, 1986), 141.

24. van Eickel discusses a second example, in Denmark, and in fact blames Scandinavians for the introduction of maiming punishments into Normandy, which is difficult to countenance. "Gendered Violence," 593–94. Though it may be worth noting that one of Magnus's men was blinded with him. *Heimskringla*, 723.

25. Sturluson, *Heimskringla*, 736–67, for the story of Magnus "the Blind's" return to rule after his blinding.

26. Lascaratos and Marketos, "The Penalty of Blinding," 133–34.

27. A. P. Kazhdan and Ann Wharton Epstein, *Change in Byzantine Culture in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* (Berkeley, LA, London: University of California Press, 1985), 101.

28. Lampsides, *Poine*.

29. Lascaratos and Marketos, "The Penalty of Blinding," 133.

30. Michael Attaleiates, *The History*, trans. Anthony Kaldellis and Dimitris Krallis (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press [Dumbarton Oaks Medieval Library], 2012), Chapter 4, 27.

31. Ibid.; Michael Psellos, *Fourteen Byzantine Rulers: The Chronographia of Michael Psellus*, trans. E. R. A. Sewter (New York: Penguin, 1966), 149–51, Bk 5, 47–51.

32. Ibid., 150.

33. Attaleiates, *The History*, Chapter 4, 27–29.

34. Ibid., 39; Psellos, *Fourteen Byzantine Rulers*, 150.

35. Attaleiates, *The History*, Chapter 34, 531–33.

36. Ibid., 533.

37. Ibid., Ch. 6.

38. Ibid., 51.

39. Anna Komnene, *The Alexiad*, rev. edn, trans. E. R. A. Sewter, ed. Peter Frankopan (New York: Penguin Books, 2009), Bk IX, 256–57.

40. Niketas Choniates, *O City of Byzantium, Annals of Niketas Choniates*, trans. Harry J. Magoulias (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1984), Chs 435–36.

41. Ibid., Ch. 436.

42. Ibid., Ch. 289.

43. Ibid., Chs 349–51.

44. There are as well a variety of other questions that one could ask in this circumstance following on this one. Such as, how was blinding interpreted in the rest of Europe, what was the role of the royal clan and/or ideas of inheritance of power in blinding, and to what extent did blinding persist as a punishment for treason, among many others. This small survey of a few cases merely seeks to answer the stated question.

45. *The Povest' vremennykh let: An Interlinear Collation and Paradosis*, compiled and ed. Donald Ostrowski, with David Birnbaum and Horace G. Lunt (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2004), s. a. 1097 [hereafter PVL]. The PVL is

the earliest narrative source for medieval Rus'. It is believed to have been written in the early twelfth century, even though the earliest extant manuscript is only from the later fourteenth century.

46. Ibid., s.a. 1099.

47. All of the following recap comes from ibid., s.a. 1097.

48. English translation from *The Russian Primary Chronicle: Laurentian Text*, trans. and ed. Samuel Hazzard Cross and Olgerd P. Sherbowitz-Wetzor (Cambridge, MA: The Mediaeval Academy of America, 1953), 189–90.

49. English translation from Cross, 190. It is possible to draw a parallel here between other instances of blinding in Byzantium where a Jew is called upon to do the blinding itself, perhaps utilizing ideas of otherness. See Attaleiates, *The History*, Chapter 21, 321.

50. English translation from Cross and Sherbowitz-Wetzor, *The Russian Primary Chronicle*, 191.

51. Donald Ostrowski, *Muscovy and the Mongols: Cross-Cultural Influences on the Steppe Frontier, 1304–1589* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 24.

52. For an extended discussion of these situations, see Christian Raffensperger, *Conflict, Bargaining and Kinship Networks in Medieval Eastern Europe* (London and New York: Lexington Books, 2018), Chapter 2.

53. PVL, s.a. 1067, 1068.

54. P. P. Tolochko, *Dvortsovye intrigi na Rusi* (Saint Petersburg: Aleteiia, 2003), 93.

55. PVL, s.a. 1097.

56. Peter A. Rolland, "History in a Hagiographic Mode: History, Hagiography, Rhetoric, and Metaphor in 'The Tale of Vasyl'ko's Blinding' from the *Povest' vremennyx let*," *Palaeoslavica* 21.1 (2013): 274–85.

57. Ibid., 275.

58. Raffensperger, *Reimagining Europe*, 27. I would here thank Jaymi Green for her cogent and persuasive arguments on this subject in our class discussion and for helping me see the text differently.

59. Simon Franklin talks in much detail about the specifics of issues of writing in Rus' in this period. Simon Franklin, *Writing, Society and Culture in Early Rus', c. 950–1300* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

60. There is a good deal of scholarship on this. However, as it is peripheral to my purpose, I will point to only Mari Isoaho, "The Last Emperor in the Primary Chronicle of Kiev," in *Past and Present in Medieval Chronicles*, edited by Mari Isoaho, 45 with special attention to note 8 (Helsinki: Helsinki Collegium for Advanced Studies, n.d.).

61. Georgius Monachus, called Hamartolous, *Chronicon*, Patrologia Graeca vol. 110 (1863), Bk 5, Ch. 11, sec. 14, pp. 1157–58.

62. This would take us back to Rolland's argument. Rolland, "History in a Hagiographic Mode."

63. As with the Volodimerovichi of Rus', I have foregone the anachronistic name for the dynasty, in favor of a different designation.

64. *Ottonian Germany: The 'Chronicon' of Thietmar of Merseburg*, trans. David A. Warner (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001), Bk 4, Ch. 58. In this

chapter, Thietmar details how once Bolesław Chrobry took power in Poland, "he expelled his stepmother and brothers, and had their familiars Odilien and Przibiwoj blinded."

65. Lisa Wolverton, trans., *The Chronicle of the Czechs by Cosmas of Prague* (Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press, 2009), Bk 3, Ch. 16.

66. For Bolesław Chrobry's actions, see the above quotation from Thietmar of Merseburg. The conflict between the brothers is narrated well in Tadeusz Manteuffel, *The Formation of the Polish State: The Period of Ducal Rule, 963–1194*, trans. Andrew Gorski (Detroit, MI: Wayne State University Press, 1982), 105–107.

67. Ibid., 107.

68. *Gesta Principum Polonorum: The Deeds of the Princes of the Poles*, trans. and ed. Paul W. Knoll and Frank Schaer (New York: Central European University Press, 2003), 193.

69. Ibid., 271–75.

70. Przemysław Wiszewski discusses this episode in much more details in his *Domus Bolezlai*. Przemysław Wiszewski, *Domus Bolezlai: Values and Social Identity in Dynastic Traditions of Medieval Poland (c. 966–1138)* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2010), 323–30.

71. Cosmas of Prague, *Chronicle of the Czechs*, Bk 3, Ch. 34.

72. Zbigniew Dalewski, "A New Chosen People? Gallus Anonymus's Narrative about Poland and Its Rulers," in *Historical Narratives and Christian Identity on a European Periphery: Early History Writing in Northern, East-Central, and Eastern Europe (c. 1070-1200)*, edited by Ildar H. Garipzanov (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2011), 145.

73. *Gesta Principum Polonorum*, 275.

74. Dalewski, "A New Chosen People?" 146.

75. Wiszewski, *Domus Bolezlai*, 327.

76. Raffensperger, *Conflict, Bargaining, and Kinship Networks*, Ch. 2. This raises another of the questions noted in note 44, about the impact of blinding in eastern Europe. Was violence, blinding in this case, particularly frowned upon for members of the family, or was it instead favored as a way to limit lines of inheritance. A closer examination of instances would be required to build a case either way.

77. *Gesta Principum Polonorum*, xxxii.

78. Ibid., 223–25; Cosmas of Prague, *Chronicle of the Czechs*, 199–200.

79. It is Manteuffel who suggests that the consolidation of power is the proximate cause of Skarbimir's revolt and blinding. *Formation of the Polish State*, 112.

80. There have been multiple suggestions of aid for Skarbimir; see V. T. Pashuto, *Vneshniaia politika Drevnei Rusi* (Moscow: Nauka, 1968), 151.

81. Manteuffel, *Formation of the Polish State*, 112.

82. Christian Raffensperger, *Ties of Kinship: Genealogy and Dynastic Marriage in Kyivan Rus'* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute, 2016), 101–103.

83. Manteuffel, *Formation of the Polish State*, provides a solid summary of events related to this conflict. For a focus on the familial nature of the conflict, see Raffensperger, *Conflict, Bargaining, and Kinship Networks*, Ch. 4.

84. Marian Dygo suggests, as I understand it, that the switch is related to the failure of Władysław II to make peace. Marian Dygo, "A Letter from Matthew, a Bishop of Cracow, to Bernard of Clairvaux 'On the Conversion of the Russians' (1145?)" in *Rome, Constantinople and Newly-Converted Europe. Archaeological and Historical Evidence*, edited by M. Salamon et al., I: 203–13 (Cracow: U Źródeł Europy Środkowo-Wschodniej, 2012).

85. Manteuffel, *Formation of the Polish State*, 124; Dygo, "A Letter from Matthew," 204.

86. John Kinnamos, *Deeds of John and Manuel Comnenus*, trans. Charles M. Brand (New York: Columbia University Press, 1976), 17.

87. Nora Berend, Przemysław Urbańczyk, and Przemysław Wiszewski, *Central Europe in the High Middle Ages: Bohemia, Hungary and Poland, c. 900–c. 1300* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 176–77.

88. Christian Raffensperger, "Identity in Flux: Finding Boris Kolomanovich in the Interstices of Medieval European History," *The Medieval Globe* 2.1 (2016): 15–39.

89. "Annales Posonienses." Emericus Madszar, ed., *Scriptores Rerum Hungaricarum*, Emerus Szentpetery, vol. 1 of 2 (Budapest: Academia Litter. Hungarica atque Societate Histo. Hungarica, 1937), s.a. 1117; Lisa Wolverton, trans., *The Chronicle of the Czechs by Cosmas of Prague* (Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press, 2009), Bk 3, Ch. 43; Otto, "Bishop of Freising," in *The Two Cities: A Chronicle of Universal History to the year 1146 A.D.*, trans. Charles Christopher Mierow, Bk 7, Ch. 21 (New York: Octagon Books, 1966); Dezso Dercesnyi, ed., *The Hungarian Illuminated Chronicle—Chronica De Gestis Hungarorum* (Budapest: Corvina Press, 1969), 133.

90. Cosmas of Prague, Bk 3, Ch. 43.

91. *Hungarian Illuminated Chronicle*, 133. For the favorable nature of the chronicle to Béla II, see Berend et al., *Central Europe in the High Middle Ages*, 190.

92. Perhaps this is not so odd when two things are considered. One, that the Premyslids who are Cosmas's main focus are deeply enmeshed in the affairs of the Árpáds, especially Stephen, Koloman's heir. Two, the purpose of Cosmas's writing, or one of them, is a commentary on rulers and their (negative) behavior. For the latter, see Lisa Wolverton, *Cosmas of Prague: Narrative, Classicism, Politics* (Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press, 2015).

93. Cosmas of Prague, Bk 3, Ch. 43.

94. *Hungarian Illuminated Chronicle*, 133.

95. Niketas Choniates, *O City of Byzantium, Annals of Niketas Choniates*, trans. Harry J. Magoulias (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1984), Ch. 17.

96. Paul Stephenson, *Byzantium's Balkan Frontier: A Political Study of the Northern Balkans, 900–1204* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 205–10.

97. Pál Engel, *The Realm of St Stephen: A History of Medieval Hungary, 895–1526*, trans. Tamás Pálosfalvi (London and New York: I. B. Tauris, 2005), 50.

98. Ibid., 50; *Hungarian Illuminated Chronicle*, 135.

99. Lascaratos and Marketos, "The Penalty of Blinding," 133–44.

100. *Hungarian Illuminated Chronicle*, 136.

101. Ibid.

102. Dimitri Obolensky, *The Byzantine Commonwealth, Eastern Europe 500–1453* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1971).

103. Raffensperger, *Reimagining Europe*, Ch. 1.

104. Bernard S. Bachrach, "On the Origins of William the Conqueror's Horse Transports," *Technology and Culture* 26.3 (1985): 505–31.

105. Jakub Kabala, "Gallus Anonymous *vel* Monk of Lido (fl. ca. 1102–ca. 1117): Mobility, Writing & Crusading at the Dawn of the Twelfth Century," *Medieval Globe* 5 (2019) (forthcoming).

Part III

POLITICAL/CULTURAL

Chapter 8

The *Character* of Hincmar of Reims in Four Ninth-Century Manuscripts

Jeremy Thompson

During the ninth century personal monograms appeared on charters, coins, jewelry, textiles, mosaics, manuscripts, and other diverse objects. Having many formats, they consisted of the superimposition of the letters in an individual's name into a single emblematic figure. In an anonymous short treatise on alphabets and alphabetic symbols entitled *De inuentione linguarum*, the author emphasized the monogram's appearance in monumental works, but the definition obtains *mutatis mutandis* for small-scale works too: "Letters are found written as monograms in several places. Wherever a depiction is made with mosaic on the surface of an image or on cloth, or anywhere in whatever way, artists customarily make the names of the following people with a collection of letters in a single character (for this is what monogram means)."[1] Eighteen examples represent the monograms, or *characteres*, of holy names such as *Dominus*, *Maria*, and *Petrus*.[2] Monograms appeared in public documents as well. From the time of Charlemagne, Carolingian kings signed royal acts and authenticated coins with monograms. Monograms were thus significant bearers of royal sanction as well as of sacred names.

As emblems of a name, they often carried a particular relation to the voice of a first-person speaker. The bureaucratic language of charters shows this clearly by speaking of the monogram as the *manus propria*: "We have confirmed by our own hand."[3] In the generation following Louis the Pious (r. 814–840) the royal monogram was probably executed by the scribes of the chancery, but did not lose cogency as a signature for it.[4] The evocation of a first-person speaker is not limited to monograms on royal acts. A funereal epitaph at Ligugé commemorating a deceased abbot, now dated by Cécile Treffort to not long after Charlemagne's death (814), aptly illustrates the rapport: "Under this tomb is laid the body of N. [in monogram], abbot of good memory. I have built the basilica of Saint Martin."[5] Several witty manuscript colophons feature monograms that serve as scribal signatures. A scribe from Tours named Adalbald(us) inscribed the four distinctive letters of his name, *ADLB*, in the band formed between two concentric circles.[6] The use of the first person and the language of *manus propria* turn up in the accompanying text: "I, unworthy priest, Adalbaldus, wrote this book in my own hand by the order of my lord Fredegisus."[7] In ms. Valenciennes, Bibliothèque municipale 81, an undeciphered name appears on seven folios in the lower margin in a monogram formed of a gridded *O* in which other letters are filled.[8] While no text accompanies it, it seems to stand as the scribe's personal stamp. As graphic signs these monograms are arresting for being less conventionalized than those appearing on charters or coins. Their tone is not one of public pronouncement, but rather of uninvested personal address.

Depending on how the speaker's address is conceived, the monogram might stand preferably in relation to the third person. A Karlsruhe manuscript copied between 822 and 838 at Saint-Denis has the following colophon: "Lambert [monogram around the letter *M*], subdeacon, though an unworthy sinner, wrote and signed. Whosoever reads [this], pray for him."[9] The colophon barely suppresses the personification that underlies manifold similar inscriptions in artworks or on tombs which directly address the viewer, while imagining the inscriber as a *tertium quid*. Such a rapport commonly obtains when a patron was responsible for the work in question. In several Roman mosaics of the ninth century, papal monograms with accompanying poems conspicuously announce the piety and magnificence of the commissions.[10] On parchment support, both patron and scribe figure in the elaborate colophon of a manuscript explicitly dated to 806.[11] The scribe was a certain Agambertus. The name of the patron, an abbess tentatively identified as one Hlottildis or Theotildis, takes the form of a monogrammatic *H* with affixed letters, a kind of box-monogram that predates by two years the first appearance of Louis the Pious's box-monogram.[12] Through the perplexity of the superimposed letters, these monograms elicit a presence at once harder to identify and yet more personal than those on charters and coins. They confer a charm or an enigma.

During the ninth century, bishops in the Frankish kingdoms did not conventionally employ monograms in charters or much in manuscripts, yet in his register of ninth-century manuscripts Bernhard Bischoff noted the presence in two manuscripts of a monogram belonging to Archbishop Hincmar of Reims (ep. 845–882).[13] Two further manuscripts carry the same monogram.[14] To my knowledge, the monogram appears nowhere else. The monogram is composed of the letters *HCM*, and possibly other letters, depending on how the traits are analyzed. It resembles the decorative title-page monograms of the word *multo* in a pair of mid-ninth-century manuscripts of Paschasius Radbertus's commentary on Lamentations.[15] Hincmar of Reims holds a reputation as one of the preeminent figures, perhaps firebrands, of the reign of Charles the Bald for his intransigent engagement in the moment's major political, theological, and ecclesiological questions. Yet far from reflecting the symbolic strategies of an authoritarian, officious bishop, the monograms are exceptional devices, and their significance relates to the conservation of these manuscripts as a group. The examples I have adduced in this introduction reveal the variety of speaking voices that imaginatively underlie early medieval monograms, particularly when manuscripts are compared with other media. This chapter shall ask, what voice does this monogram have? In the first half of the chapter, I describe the group of implicated manuscripts. In the second half, I delineate pertinent contextualizing factors and elicit an account of them from the codicological evidence.

* * *

The following four manuscripts contain the *HCM* monogram.

Brussels, Bibliothèque royale de Belgique 1831–1833, fol. 40r, 59r, 81r, 103r, 125r, 141v (Figure 8.1).

This codex comprises works by two authors and falls into two corresponding codicological units.

fol. 1–39. Ephraim of Syria, *Sermo de iudicio Dei et de resurrectione*[16]
fol. 40–140. Hincmar of Reims, *De una et non trina deitate*

According to Gilissen, Ephraim's sermon was transcribed by several hands at the end of the tenth century.[17] Bischoff assigns this copy of Hincmar's treatise, penned around 856 against the monk Gottschalk of Orbais, to multiple hands working in Reims during the third quarter of the ninth century.[18] The unique witness to Hincmar's work, this text contains as a kind of afterward to the main work a notice referring to the monk's death in 868 or 869.[19] While there is no sign that folio 40r stood at the front of a codex, it gives the appearance of being intended for the first page.[20] Without being certain, Gilissen suspected that the two units were joined already in the tenth century. From a careful analysis of the binding he concluded that the present Romanesque remains amounted to a rebinding undertaken on an earlier codex, although there are also signs of missing texts.[21]

The *HCM* monogram appears six times in the bottom margins of Hincmar's treatise: folios 40r, 59r, 81r, 103r, 125r, 141v. It stands five times at the beginning of a quire and once, on folio 141v, at the end. Not every quire has the monogram. Of the fourteen quires, only two show no trace of a numbered quire mark.[22] When quire marks appear they are invariably on the last

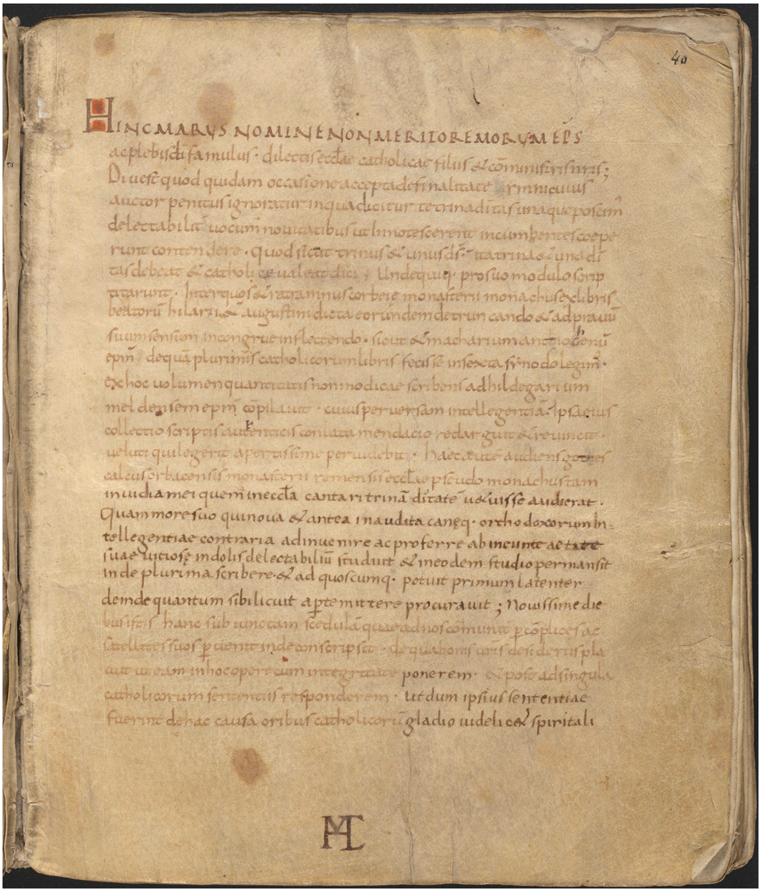

Figure 8.1 Brussels, Bibliothèque royale de Belgique 1831–1833, fol. 40r.

leaf of the gathering. The monogram seems to seal the work, designating the beginning and the end. Was the monogram imposed to ensure the integrity of the text during the assembly of the manuscript? Did it express approval, an episcopal *nihil obstat*, or also grant an *imprimatur*, so to speak, by allowing the work to be copied? In this case, the work might have been marked for copy by several scribes at the same time, each responsible for an approved portion of the text. No other copy survives.

The flyleaf of the codex stems from an early-ninth-century copy of Augustine's tractates on the Gospel of John created at the monastery of Saint-Amand. The severed pages of this Augustinian exemplar furnished the flyleaves of many a Saint-Amand binding, several of them codices coming from Reims.[23] Folio 1r shows remnants of a Saint-Amand signature, the letter *I*.

Because of the recurrence of the monogram and the special significance that it apparently holds here within one of Hincmar's own works, this codex seems to lie at the center of a material inquiry into the monogram's meaning.

Leiden, Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit, BPL 141, fol. 151v (Figure 8.2).

This codex contains four works, which I enumerate below alongside Bischoff's judgment concerning date and origin.[24] All the works were transcribed during the ninth century.

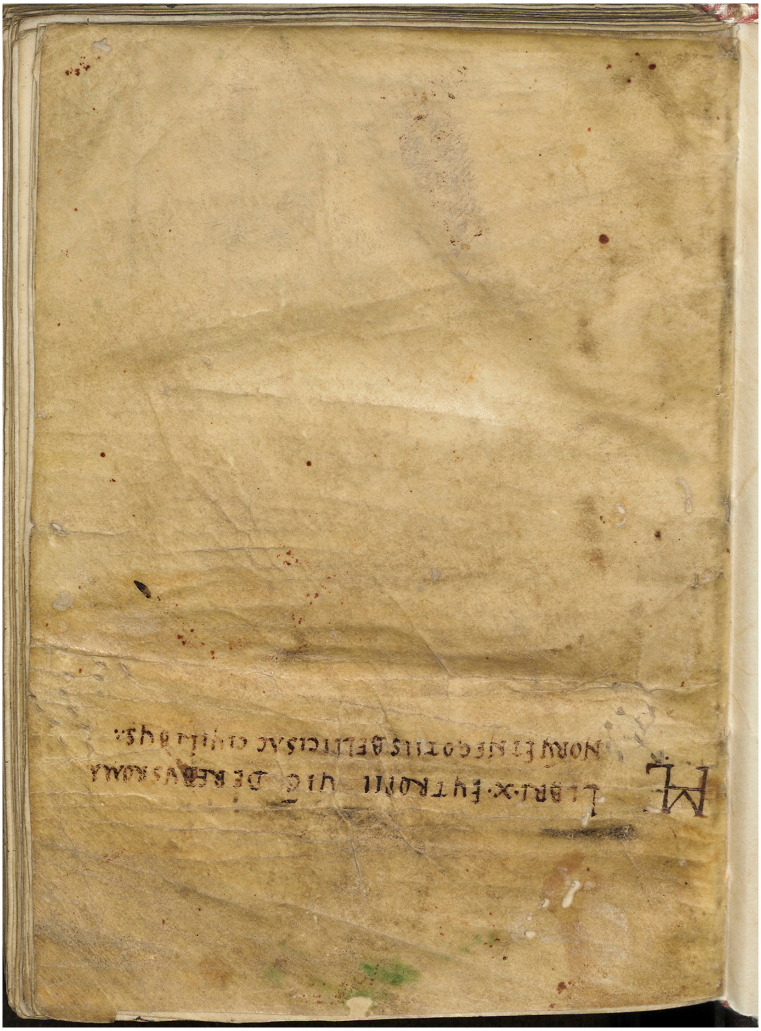

Figure 8.2 Leiden, Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit, BPL 141, fol. 151v.

fol. 1–2. Vergil, *Georgics* (flyleaf)	Saint-Amand, end of ninth century
fol. 3–30. Hincmar of Reims, *De ecclesiis et capellis*	Reims, fourth quarter
fol. 31–62. Hincmar of Reims, *Ad simplices*	Probably Reims, ca. third quarter
fol. 63–151. Eutropius, *Breviarium*	Probably east Francia, second third of the ninth century, 833–866.

With only eighteen text lines per page, the Eutropius may be a presentation copy. It had perhaps passed through Reims during the ninth century before reaching Saint-Amand. The front flyleaf stems from a copy of the *Georgics* written at Saint-Amand at the end of the ninth century.[25] The leaf is upside down and oddly shows marginalia in Caroline minuscule that are right-side up. Folio 1r bears the signature *G* of the library of Saint-Amand.

The monogram appears on fol. 151v at the end of this manuscript. It is upside down near the bottom of the page and accompanied by a library index on two lines marking the content: *Libri .X. Eutropii uic. de rebus Roma/norum et negotiis bellicis ac ciuilibus*.[26] Three dots in a pyramid shape follow the last word. There is a small line in the letter *C* as if to evoke an *E*. A small hole in the parchment lies at the top line of the *C*.

Valenciennes, Bibliothèque municipale 160 (152), fol. IIv (flyleaf facing fol. 1r) (Figure 8.3).

All the works in this codex were copied in the second half of the ninth century and possibly in the last third. They are distinct codicological units.[27]

fol. 1–110. Augustine's, *Contra Cresconium*
fol. 111–140. Pope Nicholas I, letter to Emperor Michael III
fol. 141–157. Life of Saint Lomer

Beginning with folio 17r, quire numbers appear irregularly throughout *Contra Cresconium*, usually at the front of a gathering and sometimes at the end. On folio 17r, the name of the scribe or scribal overseer—Adelulfus—appears with quire mark VII, and there are other signs of the division of scribal labor that Jean Vezin described clearly, though by no means exclusively, of Reims.[28] Several scribes, perhaps both Italian and Frankish, helped to transcribe Pope Nicholas I's letter to the Byzantine Emperor Michael III, dating September 28, 865. The unused parchment on the final folios of the two first works (fol. 110 and 140) has been cut off for reuse elsewhere. As emerges from signs of wear, the first page of the papal letter stood unbound for a time, whereas the last page, fol. 140v, has remained relatively unsoiled, though probably not for having been bound with the life of Saint Lomer.

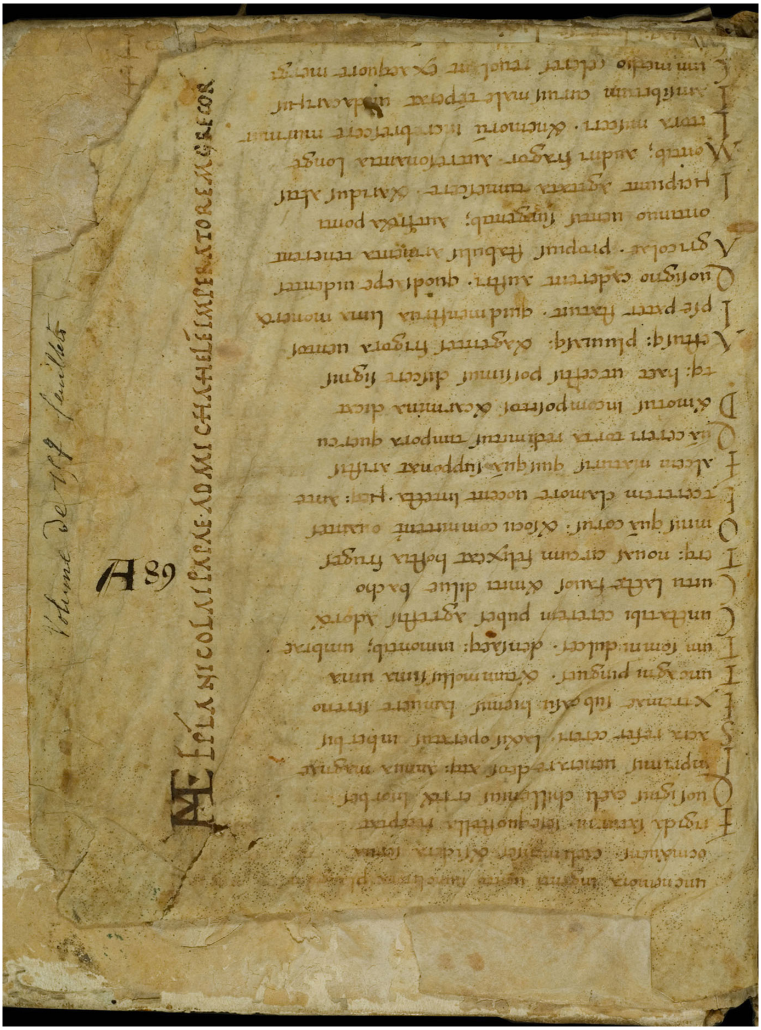

Figure 8.3 Valenciennes, Bibliothèque municipale 160 (152), fol. IIv (flyleaf facing fol. 1r).

The *HCM* monogram appears in the front pages of the codex, on the verso facing folio 1r. It is oriented on its side, with the left side of the *H* at the base. In the middle of the *C*, nearly touching the right side of the *H*, is a filled triangle, which does not seem to represent any additional letter.[29] The monogram's lines are thicker than those in the preceding examples. In the same orientation as the monogram and directly next to it, a library index, written in rustic capitals with light brown ink, indicates the papal letter: *Epistola Nicholai papae ad Michahelem imperatorem Grecorum*. Perhaps a later rewriting, the word *Grecorum* is written in a darker ink and less elegant way.

The later medieval book signature (*A 89*) of Saint-Amand stands to the left of the content index and is oriented in the usual way. A modern hand notes the length of the manuscript: *Volume de 157 feuillets.*

The front flyleaf bearing the monogram is recycled from a copy of Vergil's *Georgics*, a part of which text stands upside down on both sides of the leaf. A strip has been cut out along the bottom, and there is damage to the leaf at the top outer corner. It is an independent bifolium, and another, partial page stands before it. The leaf is drawn from the same late-ninth-century copy of Vergil as the front flyleaf in Leiden, BPL 141, fol. 1–2. The *HCM* monogram was evidently imposed in or after the late ninth century.

Valenciennes, Bibliothèque municipale 293 (283), fol. Iv (front flyleaf facing fol. 1r) (Figure 8.4).

The final codex in the *HCM* group contains the works of two authors:

fol. 2–131. Chalcidius, commentary on Plato's *Timaeus*
fol. 132–154. Lupus of Ferrières, short works on predestination (incomplete at end)

Chalcidius's work was copied at Reims during the latter half of the ninth century and contains numerous diagrams and marginal comments that have been closely studied.[30] Folio 1v features an early, short *accessus* to the work, probably from the late tenth or early eleventh century.[31] On the last page of the Chalcidius (fol. 131v) an early modern hand, probably connected to the seventeenth-century publication of the ensuing materials, inscribed the contents of the works by Lupus, abbot of Ferrières (d. 862). If they were complete, Lupus's works would fill just over three quaternions. Elsewhere I have given reasons to think that Lupus's works were, in the first place, copied under his supervision and, in the second place, conveyed to Reims, perhaps in a deliberate effort by Hincmar to regulate the predestinarian affair.[32] The deliberate excision of final pages that might be read as acutely addressing Hincmar's teachings may be significant in this regard.

As in Valenciennes 160, the monogram in ms. 293 of the same library appears on the folio preceding the main work (fol. Iv). Similarly again, it is turned on the left side of the *H*. But it does not feature the small filled triangle, and the lines are not as thick as those in the other Valenciennes codex. As in Leiden, BPL 141, a library index inscribed along the same orientation as the monogram appears on two lines, but not directly next to it, higher on the page, separated from it by two rows of prickings that intervene: *Liber Platonis Timeus*[33]*/et expositio Chalcidii in ipsum*. Though also in rustic capitals, this index is not written in the same hand as the one in Valenciennes 160. Another

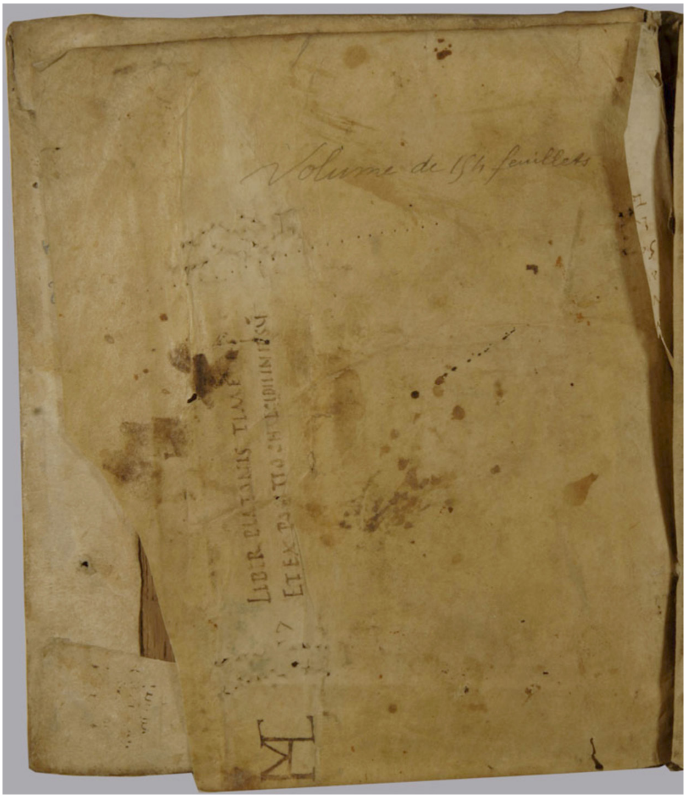

Figure 8.4 Valenciennes, Bibliothèque municipale 293 (283), fol. Iv (front flyleaf facing fol. 1r).

row of at least twenty-two prickings and other similar holes give the impression that the parchment had served, inadvertently or not, as a work surface. The recto side has several pen tests, and shows along the left margin, more unmistakably than on the corresponding verso, two sets of holes with a square configuration where some kind of provisional binding seems to have taken place, a clasp or a staple, as it were. The folio had probably been reserved for a cover leaf, since its imperfect shape—defective on the outer margin's lower side—made it hard to rule. A modern hand notes: *Volume de 154 feuillets*.

The crucial feature of the leaf bearing the monogram is that it does not belong to the unit transmitting Chalcidius's work. Pages were added to or shuffled in the codex during binding. The first two folios (fol. I and 1) are single leaves whose stubs can be seen at the end of the first gathering of Chalcidius's commentary, folios 2–9. In the same way, the last folio of the codex, unpaginated folio 155, is a single leaf whose stub reappears before the second quire of Lupus's works between folios 139 and 140. Common points of damage across folios 132–155, but not before, demonstrate that the end leaf was present before they were joined to the Chalcidius. Furthermore, folio Iv had plainly been an external cover leaf. A smear of brown ink, probably incurred during the imposition of the monogram, appears on the *lower* edge of the front leaf in a position that appears to correspond with similar marks on the *upper* edge of the Lupus folios. If the present flyleaf with the monogram had once been a cover page, it might have covered the unit containing Lupus's works. It is, in any case, his works, I believe, that account for the presence of the *HCM* monogram in this codex.

* * *

The several permutations of the *HCM* monogram are summarized below in Table 8.1.

The Brussels codex shows that the monogram does not date before the death of Gottschalk (868/869). It figures there in one of Hincmar's own writings in a manuscript produced at Reims before his death (882). But if in Valenciennes 293 the monogram should be explained by the presence of Lupus's works, which were transcribed before the abbot's death in 862, an earlier instance is conceivable.

Apart from the monogram itself, these codices share three features. First, they all contain polemical works originating from disputes in which Hincmar took part. Second, they have been associated on paleographical grounds with the scribal work of Reims. Third, they were all located in the monastery library of Saint-Amand by about 1160. I will take each point in turn.

Table 8.1 Synopsis of manuscripts with the *HCM* monogram

Manuscript	*Folio*	*Orientation*	*Content index*	*Remarks*
Brussels 1831–1833, 141 fol.	6 times: 40r, 59r, 81r, 103r, 125r, 141v	Bottom of leaves at quire divisions Upright	none	
Leiden BPL 141, 151 fol.	Once: 151v	Back flyleaf Upside down	Eutropius	Small horizontal line in middle of *C*
Valenciennes 160, 159 fol.	Once: IIv	Front flyleaf Turned on left side of *H*	Pope Nicholas's letter	A small filled triangle in the *C*
Valenciennes 293, 156 fol.	Once: Iv	Front flyleaf Turned on left side of *H*	Chalcidius	

First, all the manuscripts contain theological works occasioned by the doctrinal polemics of the mid-ninth century. Three of the works are authored by Hincmar of Reims. As mentioned, the monogram appears within one of these, Hincmar's refutation of Gottschalk Orbais on the question of the trinity in the Brussels codex. In Valenciennes 160 the library index next to the monogram specifies Pope Nicholas I's letter of 865 to Michael III, which dealt with intensifying theological and ecclesiological tensions with the Greek church.[34] The Leiden codex contains a work by Hincmar, prompted by the king, on the administration and organization of parish churches, and another, again against Gottschalk, on the question of predestination. Valenciennes 293 contains four short works by Lupus of Ferrières, also on the question of predestination, one of which is a letter addressed to Hincmar. In a sentence in a treatise on predestination written in 859/860, Hincmar highlights the doctrinal ferment that comes to light in these codices:

> And there are other things that those who delight in the novelty of words . . . say against the truth of the Catholic faith: namely, that the deity is threefold, that the sacraments of the altar are not the true body and true blood of the Lord, but only a commemoration of his true body and blood, that angels are corporeal by nature, that the human soul is not in a body, that there are no other punishments in hell than the sinners' recollection of conscience that torments them.[35]

As a feature of these codices, the monogram would conceivably apply to the theological polemics that taxed Hincmar so heavily in the years after 849.

While one might conclude that the monogram served to regulate or authorize theological opinion, as far as I know, none of the numerous further manuscripts that were transcribed or used during these controversies contains the same monogram. For instance, manuscript Laon, Bibliothèque municipale 407 has been analyzed as an excellent example of Hincmar's way of assembling documents in keeping surveillance over his affairs and defending his positions.[36] It contains a number of epistles to and from Hincmar, including Nicholas's epistolary request in October 867 for his engagement concerning the Greek church, and it even has marginal notes that some scholars have ascribed to Hincmar himself. Yet it does not carry a monogram.[37] Furthermore, the *HCM* monogram can hardly lend authority to Lupus's works, which ranged against Hincmar's own thinking on many important points.

Second, all of the codices contain works thought by Bischoff to have been copied at Reims. To be sure, *HCM* would not appear to be the scribe, for the four manuscripts do not have a common scribe. Of the ninth-century copies of non-polemical works one was copied at Reims (Chalcidius) and another probably passed through Reims (Eutropius). Hincmar's three works probably originated in Reims, and those of Lupus perhaps passed through the city. The papal letter in Valenciennes 160 would appear to be among materials forwarded to Hincmar and may have been intended for wider publication. In a letter just mentioned, dated October 23, 867, Pope Nicholas I solicited Hincmar to appeal to Frankish scholars to write against the heresies of the Greek church, an action that prompted polemical representations by Odo of Beauvais (lost), Aeneas of Paris, and Ratramnus of Corbie.[38] Several times in his request he evoked the earlier letter now transmitted in Valenciennes 160. The pope might have expected the archbishop to have the older document recopied and distributed to a wider audience.[39] Was this monogram, then, a sign of authorization for the copying and dissemination of not only the papal letter in Valenciennes 160, but also the other works in question? Of the theological contributions, neither *De una et non trina deitate* nor *Ad simplices* survives in another manuscript.[40] A second witness of *De ecclesiis* comes from the twelfth century by an independent textual tradition.[41] The works of Lupus of Ferrières do survive in multiple manuscripts, and while one of the witnesses may be linked to Reims (or to Fleury), it is not clear that its text stems from that of Valenciennes 293.[42]

Third, a catalogue drawn up between 1150 and 1168 for the abbey library of Saint-Amand contains entries for all four codices. Two of the entries are accompanied by a notice concerning the donor of the book, a well-known teacher of the monastery during the early tenth century, Hucbald of Saint-Amand (c. 840/850–930).[43] The numbers at left below indicate the entry number in Desilve's edition, but I have corrected the texts against the manuscript, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 1850, fol. 199v–201r[44]:

fol. 199v, col. b
33. *Historia Eutropii de gestis Romanorum et negotiis bellicis ac ciuilibus, praemissa epistola Hincmari archiepiscopi de aecclesiasticis historiis*—[between columns:] *Hucbaldus, monachus insignis et musicus laudabilis, qui de multis sanctis cantus composuit, qui etiam reliquias sancti Cyrici martyris ad ecclesiam nostram detulit.*

fol. 200r, col. a
69. *Augustinus contra Cresconium, cum epistola Nicholai papae ad Michaelem imperatorem, et cum uita sancti Launomari abbatis.*

fol. 200v, col. a
131. *Sermones Effrem, cum testamento beati Remigii, et cum disputatione Hincmari archiepiscopi contra Godescalcum monachum.*[45]

fol. 201r, col. b
178. *Timeus Plato, cum expositione Calcidii in eundem*—[between columns:] *Hucbaldus*

Hucbald was a teacher first at Reims and, after quitting the city upon Archbishop Fulco's assassination in 900, at Saint-Amand.[46] Works of poetry, music theory, and hagiography survive from his hand. His name appears along nineteen entries within the catalogue, and twelve manuscripts have been paired with them. The absence of common marks of identification led Boutemy to infer that the Hucbald corpus, as represented by the twelfth-century catalogue, was preserved through an oral tradition.[47] Indeed, the mention of Hucbald led some scholars, usually not citing the three comparanda, to decipher the monogram of Valenciennes 293 as *HVC* (*Hucbaldus*).[48] Yet the catalogue fails to identify two of the manuscripts in question as Hucbald's, even though the catalogue entries certainly depended on the codices' content indices.[49] Nevertheless, the mention of Hucbald has supplied a specific occasion for the transfer of these manuscripts, or at least those of Reims origin, to Saint-Amand. If the twelfth-century notices are considered reliable, Hucbald might have carried the codices from Reims when he took up the teaching position at his erstwhile abbey to the north.[50] The omission of Lupus's name in the entry for codex Valenciennes 293 could be explained by an irregularity or oversight in cataloguing and should not speak detrimentally against its traveling with Chalcidius.[51]

The Brussels manuscript all but confirms the underlying Hincmar. Six times throughout the section containing Hincmar's tract against the monk Gottschalk, the monogram figures as a kind of quire signature or certifying emblem. Throughout Hincmar's treatise marginal annotations mark the errant monk's theses with an *obelus* (÷), while a critical sign called a *chresimon* ("useful") indicates sound doctrine.[52] These critical signs are intrinsic to the text, and Hincmar clarifies his usage:

> In placing the pamphlets of the same Gottschalk in their entirety in this work of mine (I who am but a servant), we shall, after the custom of earlier generations, also oppose individual ideas with the *obelus*, that is, the horizontal stroke, so that, like an arrow, it may pierce through that man's false words. But we shall mark down the figure XP, which is called the *chresimon*, at the front of those statements from the works of orthodox writers that his ideas will oppose, so that through it the testimonies of catholic believers, who resist his poisonous meanings, will be demonstrated, and so that a sound and truly Christian understanding will be plainly revealed to simple and devout souls as it was truly passed down by Christ against the antichrists.[53]

Together the two signs create a paratextual rhetoric underscoring the archbishop's position.

The use of the *chresimon* was clarified in a slightly different way by one of the other disputants in the Gottschalk debate, this time over the question of predestination. Writing against John Scottus Eriugena, Bishop Prudentius of Troyes (ep. after 843–861) did not clearly distinguish the critical sign of approval (*chresimon*) from the ancient christogram (*chrismon*), consisting of the superimposed initials of Christ's name, *X* (*chi*) and *P* (*rho*):

> Moreover, whenever my own speech intervenes, demanding a necessary place, lest I ascribe something to myself, while it is heavenly grace that speaks anything good through the instrument of my tongue, I have taken pains to place the mark which grammarians call a *crisimon* over top, since, like the monogram of Christ's name, it is seen to represent, in a certain way, that I disclose as belonging entirely to him whatever I have imbibed through his very own generous and unrepayable gifts.[54]

By conflating the two marginal signs with diverse histories, Prudentius transforms the *chresimon* into a far more potent regulatory device, capable of holy condemnation. Hincmar may not be explicit, but his language about Christ and Antichrists leads me to think that he too meant to exploit the *chi-rho* device for its twofold meaning. It would seem reasonable to infer that the *HCM* monogram partakes of the same rhetorical strategy and is a sign of orthodox authority announced from the episcopal chair.

Nevertheless, the *HCM* monogram does not correspond meaningfully to any surviving mark of possession or validation associated with Hincmar. Two signatures, generally regarded as his autographs, appear on synodal privileges for administrative matters in the years 861 and 862, and employ conventional documentary *chrismons* before his full title: (*chrismon*) *Hincmarus sanctae metropolis ecclesiae Remorum episcopus (subscripsi)*.[55] Administrative matters are treated again in two letters to Bishop Franco of Tongres (ep. before 859–901) that feature distinctive validations.[56] Both are letters of recommendation vouching for a third party and belong to the type known as *epistolae formatae*.[57] One letter evidently had a seal affixed to it depicting Saint Remigius.[58] Devisse suggested that Hincmar deployed such careful means of authentication—directly mentioning it in the letter—because Tongres, near Liège, is distant from his usual ambit.[59] The validation mark in the other letter to Franco follows the elaborate legal formula established by the *regula formatarum*, which assigns numerical values to the particulars of the communication—sender, recipient, city—based on the traditional numerical significations of the Greek alphabet.[60]

Nor does the *HI* monogram that Hincmar used in notices of donation in two manuscripts much illuminate the meaning of the *HCM* monogram in the present context.[61] In this case the letter *I* intersects the crossbar of the *H* at the middle. In ms. Reims, Bibliothèque municipale 7, a ninth-century Gospel codex presented to the abbey of Saint-Thierry, the bookmark *Hincmarus* *abba/dedit Sancto Theoderico* ("Abbot Hincmar gave [this] to Saint Thierry") appears five times between quire divisions within the gospel of Matthew (fol. 21v–22r, 29v–30r, 37v–38r, 45v–46r, 53v–54r), and then not at all in the following three gospels.[62] The *HI* monogram appears in the bookmark beneath the portrait of the evangelist Matthew on folio 21v, and the donor's identity cannot be in doubt. During the mid-ninth century, the archbishop of Reims held the position of abbot of Saint-Thierry *ex officio*. In ms. Reims, Bibliothèque municipale 118, a similar *HI* appears five times, the first four times (fol. 1r, 4r, 38r, 103r) at the beginning of texts, and the fifth time (fol. 140v) at the very end of the codex.[63] When the monogram first appears, a text above it, in rustic capitals of a lighter brown ink, states: *Hincmarus diaconus dedit Stephano* (Deacon Hincmar gave [this] to Stephen). On fol. 4r the text above the monogram reads: *Stephanus dedit Sanctae Mariae Remensi* ("Stephen gave it to Holy Mary of Reims").[64] At the end of the manuscript, the *HI* monogram is supplemented by an *N* in the lower right angle of intersecting *H* and *I* and by a *C* along the right vertical bar of the *H*. At the right the rest of Hincmar's name is fully spelled out—*MARUS*—in rustic capitals along with the full note of donation: *HINC* (monogram) *marus diaconus/dedit Stephano*. The brown ink used here is lighter than that of the *HINC* monogram itself. Because the monograms and donation notices tend to occur at the beginnings and ends of texts, they seem to have been used to ensure the integrity of the codex. They mark the codex's beginning and end, and through them the discrete textual units could be assembled.[65] Only in one case, ms. Brussels 1831–1833, can the *HCM* monogram serve to guide the assembly of the manuscript.

Far from being a customary sign proper to this archbishop, the *HCM* monogram emerges as exceptional. As far as the evidence of Hincmar's graphic validation extends, he never uses the *HCM* device or a similar one as a mark of enforced dogmatic declaration. None of the extant signatures, monograms, or validations bears on doctrinal content ("orthodoxy") per se, while the concern of the *HCM* monogram would appear to arise exactly from the theological engagement of the writings which it joins. While the *HCM* monogram might have authorized copying, there was little need for a broader diffusion of these particular works after Gottschalk's death, when they seem to have been collected or created. The fiercest quarrels had abated. Can it be regarded as a seal, as it were, for a special missive or dossier collection, destined for an exalted person or special purpose? At the very least, the monogram signifies that these works belong together.

Taken together, the foregoing considerations suggest that the monogram is significant at once as a symbol of Hincmar and because of its relation to Saint-Amand. Close study allows one to speculate a scenario of collection and binding that unfolds in several key moments. The four polemical works began their sojourn at Reims, *HCM* already appearing in the Brussels codex.

Indeed, this manuscript has already appeared central to the corpus for the prominence that the monogram has therein. The other three instances of the monogram present variants of position, orientation, and, eventually, function. The monogram might also have appeared in the parchment folder of Lupus's works as contained in Valenciennes 293 and in Hincmar's pastoral letter *Ad simplices* (Leiden, BPL 141). The papal letter in today's Valenciennes 160 stood in close proximity to one or more of these texts. Whatever the case, the monogram probably represents an unbound association of manuscripts as a group.

While Hucbald's role in the circulation of these codices is unclear, they must have still formed a corpus together at Saint-Amand. Three of them show binding materials from Saint-Amand parchment of the ninth century, hence probably also binding *at* Saint-Amand. The Brussels codex would have been bound in the late tenth century, soon after the transcription of the sermons of Ephraim of Syria. An early-ninth-century Saint-Amand manuscript supplied the flyleaf. This old manuscript provided flyleaves to a number of other codices. A wider undertaking was afoot. Both Leiden BPL 141 and Valenciennes 160 derived flyleaves from same manuscript of Vergil's *Georgics*, which originated at Saint-Amand in the late ninth century. Unless the Vergil codex was itself among the holdings of Reims, this undertaking took place at Saint-Amand. The shorter works then available in the library were distributed so as to create codices of about 150–160 folios. The papal letter was separated from the original group in order to fill out such a codex. But the affiliation with the other three manuscripts was preserved by the imposition of the monogram on the front flyleaf. A later imposition accounts for its unusual form, the lines being thicker and more compactly drawn. The filled triangle that tends toward turning the *C* into an *E* would have imitated and expanded the form in the Leiden manuscript, a slight horizontal line appearing in the same spot. A title added in rustic capitals indicated the relevant work. The new monogram also imitated the placement and orientation of Valenciennes 293: on the front flyleaf, pivoted around on the left stroke of the *H*. Both manuscripts Leiden, BPL 141 and Valenciennes 293 were at hand as models.

Meanwhile, the old Reims pages from this group were removed and made into new flyleaves. The parchment cover of Lupus's works would have been separated and reused for the flyleaf of the new codex, Valenciennes 293. A librarian, though not the same one working on Valenciennes 160, added content indices to the new codices, reading the *HCM* monogram as connected to it. The works noted were the longest ones in the new codices (Chalcidius and Eutropius) and the ones nearest the monogram, as the monogram then, disengaged from its original placement, then stood. Out of the group it is these two codices, Valenciennes 293 and Leiden, BPL 141, that were later marked as Hucbald's donations. The monogram announced the manuscripts' old affiliation, and its character became primarily commemorative. Hypothetical though it may be, this scenario accounts for the varying material aspect of the monogram and for its exceptionality as a sign deployed by Hincmar of Reims. It will have to be tested against a detailed study of the books of early medieval Saint-Amand.

As a conceit for discussing authority and identity, I suggested at the beginning of this chapter that the speaking voice to which a monogram stands in relation depends on how the address was imagined. I have wanted to signal this group of like monograms associated with Hincmar of Reims and describe the parameters of its interpretation. While the *HCM* device admits a straightforward meaning, it becomes exceptional and cryptic when it is specifically contextualized. But the evidence also offers a way of illuminating a motive, if inadequately. Specifically, it makes it difficult to insist that in the archbishop's absence the monogram voiced his fierce and righteous claims. If it meant this at all in the Brussels codex, the meaning changed when the voice grew fainter.

* * *

The meaning of this chapter also changes under new light. An academic work, it turns out to be a commemorative token of sorts, marking with reverence and gratitude the ongoing study and inspiration of Walter Kaegi. In putting a ninth-century monogram under a magnifying glass, it may contrast with the encyclopedic character of the learning possessed by the scholar whom it honors, but I draw inspiration, from the art of close reading exercised by the same teacher, *WEK* (in monogram).

NOTES

1. The work has been traditionally attributed to Hrabanus Maurus (d. 856), abbot of Fulda and later archbishop of Mainz. Hrabanus Maurus, *De inuentione linguarum*, in Patrologia Latina 112 (Paris: J.-P. Migne, 1841–1864), col. 1579–83, here at 1581: *Litterae enim monogrammae scriptae nonnullis in locis inveniuntur, ubi pictura cum museo in pariete imaginis aut in velis, vel alicubi aliter facta fuerit, ibi eorum nomina cum congerie litterarum, unum characterem pictores facere soliti sunt, quod monogramma dicitur*. For this work's bearing on the general problem of this chapter, see Peter Rück, "Die Urkunde als Kunstwerk," in *Kaiserin Theophanu. Begegnung des Ostens und Westens um die Wende des ersten Jahrtausends*, 2 vols, edited by Anton von Euw and Peter Schreiner, vol 1, 311–33, at 321 (Cologne: Schnütgen Museum, 1991). A survey of manuscripts shows that the anonymous work survives in many permutations. Scribes trained their interest on representing the alphabets from diverse

languages, while they often omitted the part concerning monograms. For more detailed considerations, see the classic study in R. Derolez, *Runica Manuscripta: The English Tradition* (Brugge: De Tempel, 1954), 279–354; and the important contribution of Roland Marti, "Fremde Schriften in einem lateinischen Codex (zu den Bamberger Hss. Patr. 130/1 und 130/2)," *Scriptorium* 45 (1991): 47–83, esp. at 61–62.

2. For the notion of character, including observations about the monogram as character, see David Ganz, "'Character' and the Power of the Letter," in *Graphic Devices and the Early Decorated Book*, edited by Michelle P. Brown, Ildar H. Garipzanov, and Benjamin C. Tilghman, 31–44 (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2017).

3. *Manu propria firmauimus*. Observed and quoted by Brigitte Miriam Bedos-Rezak, *When Ego was Imago: Signs of Identity in the Middle Ages* (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 78–79.

4. Laurent Morelle, "La main du roi et le nom de Dieu: la validation de l'acte royal selon Hincmar, d'après un passage de son *De divortio*," in *Foi chrétienne et églises dans la société politique de l'Occident du Haut Moyen Âge (IVe-XIIe siècle)*, Cahiers de l'Institut d'Anthropologie Juridique de Limoges 11, edited by Jacqueline Hoareau-Dodinau and Pascal Texier, 287–318, at 297–99 (Limoges: Presses Universitaires de Limoges, 2004).

5. Cécile Treffort, "La dalle funéraire dite d'Ursinus à Ligugé. Contribution à l'épigraphie carolingienne," *Revue historique du Centre-Ouest* 6 (2007): 265–76, esp. 266 (photograph) and 271 (inscription): *Sub hoc conditorio situm est corpus bone memorie N* [name as monogram] *abba. Edificavi basilica s(an)c(t)i Martini.*

6. Halle (Saale), Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek, Quedl. Cod. 79, fol. 183v (formerly Quedlinburg, Stifts-und-Gymnasialbibliothek 79). See E. K. Rand, *A Survey of the Manuscripts of Tours*, 2 vols (Cambridge, MA: Mediaeval Academy of America, 1929), vol. 1, 56–58 ("no later than 820"), 142–43, no. 88, and vol. 2, plates CVIII–CIX. For the inscription and an image of the monogram, see H. Leclercq, "Monogramme," in *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie*, vol. 11, 2, edited by Fernand Cabrol and H. Leclercq, col. 2369–94, at 2384–85 (Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1934).

7. *Ego indignus presbyter Adalbaldus hunc libellum ex iussione domino meo Fredegiso manu propria scripsi.*

8. Fol. 2r (effaced?), 23r, 37r, 53r, 71r, 85r, 101r. The monogram appears to be linked to the quire divisions. Possible letters are not limited to OHSEANP(R?). The manuscript dates to the late ninth century. On decorative quire marks, see Lawrence Nees, "Graphic Quire Marks and Qur'anic Verse Markers in Frankish and Islamic Manuscripts from the Seventh and Eighth Centuries," in *Graphic Devices and the Early Decorated Book*, edited by Michelle P. Brown, Ildar H. Garipzanov, and Benjamin C. Tilghman, 88–99 (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2017).

9. Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek, Aug. perg. 238, fol. 159r: *Lambertus* [in monogram], *quamuis peccator indignus, subdiaconus, scripsit et subscripsit. Qui legit orat pro ipso.*

10. Gerhart Ladner, *Die Papstbildnisse des Altertums und des Mittelalters* (Vatican City: Pontifico Istituto di Archeologia Cristiana, 1941), vol. 1, 135–39 (Paschal I), 142–44 (Gregory IV).

11. Valenciennes, Bibliothèque municipale 59, fol. 181v.

12. For the identity and further codices of the scribe Agambertus and the colophon, which furnishes an instance of the so-called *notae Sancti Bonifacii*, see Bernhard Bischoff, "Panorama der Handschriftenüberlieferung aus der Zeit Karls des Großen," in *Mittelalterliche Studien: Ausgewählte Aufsätze zur Schriftkunde und Literaturgeschichte*, vol. 3, 5–38, at 16–17, with n. 53 (Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann, 1981); Derolez, *Runica Manuscripta*, 406–407. For the *H*-form monogram of Louis the Pious and the evolution of the chancery, see Peter Worm, *Karolingische Rekognitionszeichen* (Marburg: Universitätsbibliothek Marburg, 2004), vol. 1, 44–49; Ildar H. Garipzanov, *The Symbolic Language of Authority in the Carolingian World* (c. 751–877) (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 183–88.

13. Bernhard Bischoff, *Katalog der festländischen Handschriften des neunten Jahrhunderts (mit Ausnahme der wisigotischen)*, 4 vols (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1998–2017), vol. 1, 151, no. 704; vol. 2, 45, no. 2161.

14. Ibid., vol. 3, 395–96, no. 6347–50; 398, no. 6374–75. For the identification of Hincmar, see Léon Gilissen, *La reliure occidentale antérieure à 1400, d'après les manuscrits de la Bibliothèque royale Albert Ier à Bruxelles* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1983), 98.

15. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 12294, fol. 1r (origin: Corbie); Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek, Aug. perg. 146, fol. 3r (origin: Corvey or Corbie [?]). The creation of the former manuscript at Corbie was probably supervised by Paschasius. See Jean Vezin, "Les reliures carolingiennes de cuir à décor estampé de la Bibliothèque nationale de Paris," *Bibliothèque de l'École des chartes* 128 (1970): 81–113, at 86 and 104–105.

16. Folios 1–39 stand as a single codicological unit. A miracle of Saint Hilary is recounted on folios 38v–39. It is number 3893 in *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina*, vol. 1 (Brussels: Bollandists, 1898–1899), 581.

17. Gilissen, *La reliure occidentale*, 98.

18. Bischoff, *Katalog*, vol. 1, 151, no. 704.

19. Hincmarus Remensis, *De una et non trina deitate* 19, in Patrologia Latina 125 (Paris: J.-P. Migne, 1841–1864), col. 615C–618B.

20. Gilissen, *La reliure occidentale*, 99.

21. Ibid., 98–99. In addition, the twelfth-century catalogue of Saint-Amand mentions in its entry for this codex the *Testament of Saint Remigius*, which no longer survives. See p.150.

22. Ibid., 95.

23. Bischoff, *Katalog*, vol. 1, 151–52, no. 705. Noted too by Warren Pezé, *Le virus de l'erreur. La controverse carolingienne sur la double prédestination: essai d'histoire sociale* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2017), 36n85.

24. P. C. Molhuysen, *Codices bibliothecae publicae Latini* (Leiden: Brill, 1912), 78–79; Bischoff, *Katalog*, vol. 2, 44–45, no. 2158–61.

25. Bischoff, *Katalog*, vol. 2, 44, no. 2158.

26. The abbreviation *u.c.* (*uir clarissimus*) is more common for qualifying Eutropius's rank.

27. Bischoff, *Katalog*, vol. 3, 395, no. 6347.

28. Jean Vezin, “La répartition du travail dans les ‘scriptoria’ carolingiens,” *Journal des savants* (1973): 212–27.

29. If it were conceived as a letter, might it have been *E(piscopus)* or *E(pistola)*, the first word of the following title?

30. Bischoff, *Katalog*, vol. 3, 298, no. 6374–75; Rosamond McKitterick, “Knowledge of Plato’s *Timaeus* in the Ninth Century: The Implications of Valenciennes, Bibliothèque municipale ms 293,” in *From Athens to Chartres: Neoplatonism and Medieval Thought. Studies in Honour of Edouard Jeauneau*, edited by Haijo Jan Westra, 85–95 (Leiden: Brill, 1992); Bruce Eastwood, *Ordering the Heavens: Roman Astronomy and Cosmology in the Carolingian Renaissance* (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 350–54.

31. Anna Somfai, “The Eleventh-Century Shift in the Reception of Plato’s *Timaeus* and Calcidius’s *Commentary*,” *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 65 (2002): 1–21, at 11.

32. Jeremy Thompson, “The Circulation of the Predestinarian Works of Lupus of Ferrières in Valenciennes, Bibliothèque municipale 293,” in *La controverse carolingienne sur la prédestination. Histoire, textes, manuscrits*, edited by Pierre Chambert-Protat, Jérémy Delmulle et al., 273–89 (Turnhout: Brepols, forthcoming).

33. The final letters *us* of *Timeus*, in the same hand as the rest, are barely visible after erasure.

34. Nicolaus, *epistola* 88, ed. E. Perels, Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Epistolae 6 (Berlin: Weidmann, 1925), 454–87.

35. Hincmarus Remensis, *De praedestinatione* 31, in Patrologia Latina 125 (Paris: J.-P. Migne, 1841–1864), col. 296D: *Sunt et alia quae vocum novitatibus delectantes… contra fidei catholicae veritatem dicunt. Videlicet quod trina sit Deitas, quod sacramenta altaris non verum corpus et verus sanguis sit Domini, sed tantum memoria veri corporis et sanguinis ejus, quod angeli natura sint corporales, quod anima hominis non sit in corpore, quod non aliae poenae sint infernales, nisi tormentalis memoria conscientiae peccatorum.*

36. See the careful analysis of Steffen Patzold, *Episcopus: Wissen über Bischöfe im Frankreich des späten 8. bis frühen 10. Jahrhunderts* (Ostfildern: Jan Thorbeke, 2008), 346–50, and 348, for the question of Hincmar’s scribal involvement, with references to earlier literature.

37. Devisse argued in favor of Hincmar’s scribal involvement. Pezé recently accepts it. Hoffmann showed himself skeptical. Böhringer rejected that his scribal hand was at work, but thought he may have overseen the marginal notes. Bischoff does not declare himself, but sees scribes from Reims at work. See Jean Devisse, *Hincmar, archevêque de Reims, 845–882*, 3 vols (Geneva: Droz, 1976), vol. 2, 945–47; Letha Böhringer, ed., *De divortio Lotharii regis et Theutbergae reginae*, Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Concilia 4, Suppl. 1 (Hannover: Hahn, 1992), 50–51; Hartmut Hoffmann, “Autographa des früheren Mittelalters,” *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters* 57 (2001): 1–62, at 46; Bischoff, *Katalog*, vol. 2, 34, no. 2112 (“Teilweise Reims, IX. Jh., 3. Viertel”); Pezé, *Le virus de l’erreur*, 468. Pope Nicholas’s letter to Hincmar stands on folios 138v–149 of Laon, Bibl. mun. 407. One might also compare Brussels, Bibliothèque royale 5413–5422, which contains several

works related to Hincmar's polemical and conciliar involvement. In addition to Bischoff, *Katalog*, vol. 1, 154, no. 715–17, see the full physical description in Hubert Silvestre, "Notices et extraits des manuscrits 5413–22, 10098–105 et 10127–44 de la Bibliothèque Royale de Bruxelles," *Sacris Erudiri* 5 (1953), 172–92, at 172–87.

38. Nicolaus, *epistola* 100, ed. E. Perels, Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Epistolae 6 (Berlin: Weidmann, 1925), 600–609, esp. 604 and 608.

39. Devisse, *Hincmar*, vol. 2, 953, with further examples at n699.

40. Pezé implies that the meager manuscript witness for the *Ad simplices* belies a more considerable impact. Pezé, *Le virus de l'erreur*, 332.

41. Hinkmar von Reims, *Collectio de ecclesiis et capellis*, ed. Martina Stratmann, Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Fontes iuris 14 (Hannover: Hahn, 1990), 31–39.

42. The manuscript in question is Leiden, Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit, VLO 37, of which Bischoff says, "Vielleicht außerhalb von Reims begonnen, in Reims fortgesetzt, IX. Jh., Ende." Bischoff, *Katalog*, vol. 2, 64, no. 2247. The text is fragmentary and incomplete. The seventeenth-century editor Jacques Sirmond also knew a medieval manuscript in which Lupus's *Liber de tribus quaestionibus* was mistakenly ascribed to Hincmar.

43. I understand Hucbald to be the donor because the catalogue's first entry, recording the gift of Queen Susanna, states that she was that book's donor. See Julius Desilve, *De schola elnonensi sancti Amandi a saeculi IX ad XII usque* (Louvain: Peeters, 1890), 155, no. 1: "Queen Susanna is said to have given this book to our church" (*hunc librum fertur dedisse Susanna regina aecclesiae nostre*).

44. Ibid., 154–78, with pertinent entries on 157, 160, 164, 167.

45. As mentioned above, the testament of Remigius has disappeared. Without this loss, the codex's length would better approximate that of the other three.

46. See Marie-Hélène Jullien, "Hucbaldus Elnonensis mon.," in *Clavis des auteurs latins du Moyen Âge. Territoire français, 735–987*, vol. 4, 1, edited by Marie-Hélène Jullien, 23–127, at 23–26 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2015).

47. André Boutemy, "Le scriptorium et la bibliothèque de Saint-Amand d'après les manuscrits et les anciens catalogues," *Scriptorium* 1 (1946): 6–16, at 14. Of the donors named by the *index maior*, most belong to the previous several generations. The three earliest donors are Lothar, a sacristan of the early ninth century; Hucbald; and Queen Susanna, wife of Robert the Pious, who died in 1003. While the monumental Bible donated by Susanna has not been identified, the three books that Lothar commissioned preserve poetic verses identifying him: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 2109, fol. 268r; Laon, Bibliothèque municipale 298, fol. 148r; Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica, Pal. lat. 161, fol. 236v. These codices are not marked by a similar monogram. For this group of manuscripts, see Bernard Bischoff, *Die südostdeutschen Schreibschulen und Bibliotheken in der Karolingerzeit*, 2 vols (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1940–1980), vol. 2, 100, no. 36–38. See too André Boutemy, "Notes de voyages sur quelques manuscrits de l'ancien archidiocèse de Reims," *Scriptorium* 2 (1948): 123–29, at 124.

48. Some have proposed that Hucbald was the author of the marginalia in Valenciennes 293. McKitterick does not exclude the possibility. McKitterick, "Knowledge of Plato's *Timaeus*," 293–94. Waszink seems to leave open the possibility that Hucbald

was the text's main scribe. J. H. Waszink, ed., *Timaeus a Calcidio translatus commentarioque instructus*, Plato Latinus 4 (London/Leiden: Warburg/Brill, 1975), cxxvii. Accepting the analysis of the monogram as Hincmar, Phillips rejects an earlier hypothesis that it belonged to Hucbald. Nancy Phillips, "Classical and Late Latin Sources for Ninth-Century Treatises on Music," in *Music Theory and Its Sources: Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, edited by A. Barbera, 100–35, at 128 (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame, 1990); Phillips, *Musica* and *Scolica Enchiriadis*: The Literary, Theoretical, and Musical Sources," PhD diss. (New York University, 1984), 408.

49. Alternatively, the codices not marked with Hucbald were inadvertently omitted. In the Brussels manuscript the monogram does not appear on an outside leaf and might have been overlooked. The content index on Valenciennes 293 was clearly used by the compiler of an earlier library catalogue of Saint-Amand located in ms. Valenciennes, Bibliothèque municipale 39 (33) at fol. 2r. Dating to 1123–1136, the *index minor* records the monastery's liberal arts holdings and describes Valenciennes 293 in its first entry: *Timeus Plato cum expositione Calcidii in ipsum*. Desilve, *De schola elnonensi*, 152.

50. McKitterick, "Knowledge of Plato's *Timaeus*," 293–94. Henri Platelle postulated that Viking depredations in 881–883 lay at the root of the heterogeneous aspect of book holdings at Saint-Amand in the late ninth century. Books were acquired from outside the monastery in order to rebuild a looted and destroyed library. Henri Platelle, *Le temporel de l'abbaye de Saint-Amand des origines à 1340* (Paris: Librairie d'Argences, 1962), 67–69. Hucbald may also have been somewhat opportunistic, profiting from the bishop's assassination to purloin books before leaving. I am grateful to Jonathan Lyon (Chicago) for pointing this out.

51. I delineate the peculiar features of the entry in Thompson, "The Circulation of the Predestinarian Works."

52. For a full treatment of this matter, together with the two passages cited below, see the essay of Steinová and Van Renswoude, which considers the matter in the history of critical signs and knowledge control. Irene van Renswoude and Evina Steinová, "The Annotated Gottschalk: Critical Signs and Control of Heterodoxy in the Carolingian Age," in *La controverse carolingienne sur la prédestination. Histoire, textes, manuscrits*, edited by Pierre Chambert-Protat, Jérémy Delmulle et al., 243–72 (Turnhout: Brepols, forthcoming).

53. Hincmarus Remensis, *De una et non trina deitate*, *prologus*, PL 125: 476B–C: *ponens cum integritate sui in hoc opusculo nostrae servitutis ejusdem Gothescalci schedulas, et per singulas sententias more veterum obelum ÷, id est jacentem virgulam, eis opponemus, ut quasi sagitta falsa illius dicta confodiat, his vero quae opponentur ex orthodoxorum dictis ejus sententiis figuram XP, quae chresimon dicitur, praenotabimus, ut per eam catholicorum testimonia, quae resistunt venenosis ejus sensibus, demonstrentur, et sana ac vere Christiana intelligentia, ut revera a Christo contra antichristos tradita, evidenter simplicibus et devotis mentibus ostendatur.*

54. Prudentius Trecensis, *De praedestinatione contra Ioannem Scotum*, *praefatio*, ed. E. Dümmler, Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Epistolae 5 (Berlin: Weidmann, 1899), 631–33, at 633, l. 5–10 (=PL 115: 1012B): *Ubicumque autem mei sermonis interpositio necessarium locum expetit, ne quid michi tribuerem, si quid boni superna*

gratia per meae linguae organum loqueretur, notam superponere studui, quae ab artigraphis crisimon nuncupatur, quoniam velut monogramma nominis Christi effigiare quodammodo cernitur, ut eius totum ostenderem quicquid benignitatis ipsius largifluis indebitisque muneribus inbibissem . . . For a similar interpretation, see the ninth-century letter of an unknown Irish monk near Milan, edited by E. Dümmler in Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Epistolae 6 (Berlin: Weidmann, 1925), 201–05, esp. at 204.

55. Arch. nat. K 13, no. 4/3 (Pîtres 861) (Artem 3011); Arch. nat. K 13, no. 10/2 (Soissons 862) (Artem 3020). See Hartmut Atsma and Jean Vezin, "Remarques paléographiques et diplomatiques sur les acts originaux des évêques de France du VIIe siècle à l'an mil," in *Die Diplomatik der Bischofsurkunde vor 1250/La diplomatique épiscopale avant 1250*, edited by Christoph Haidacher and Werner Köfler, 209–24, at 216 and 223–24 (plates 2–3) (Innsbruck: Tiroler Landesarchiv, 1995); Morelle, "La main du roi et le nom de Dieu," 293; Jean Vezin, "L'autographie dans les actes du haut Moyen Âge," *Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 148 (2004): 1405–33, at 1427–28 and 1429, fig. 5. The privileges are printed in *Die Konzilien der karolingischen Teilreiche, 860–874*, ed. Wilfried Hartmann, Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Concilia 4 (Hannover: Hahn, 1998), 54–56, here at 55, l. 12; and, 106–15, here at 113, l. 29.

56. E. Martène and U. Durand, *Veterum scriptorum et monumentorum historicorum, dogmaticorum, moralium amplissima collectio*, vol. 1 (Paris: Montalant, 1724), col. 155–58, here at 157–58. Hincmar's two letters to Franco then appeared in Th. Gousset, *Les actes de la province ecclésiastique de Reims*, vol. 1 (Reims: L. Jacquet, 1842), 263–64 (whence the version at Patrologia Latina 126 [Paris: J.-P. Migne, 1841–1864], col. 276D–277A). G. Monchamp went back to the texts of Martène-Durand for all the Franco letters in "Cinq lettres formées adressées à Francon, évêque de Liège," in *Bulletins de la classe des lettres et des sciences morales et politiques et de la classe des beaux-arts* (Brussels: Hayez, 1903), 421–31.

57. For Hincmar's use of *epistolae formatae*, see Martina Stratmann, *Hinkmar von Reims als Verwalter von Bistum und Kirchenprovinz* (Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke, 1991), 7–8. More generally, see especially Antonino Mastruzzo, "Un'*epistola formata* di età carolingia nell'Archivio di Stato di Pisa," *Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa. Classe di Lettere e Filosofia*, ser. 3, 25 (1995): 1437–58; Clara Fabricius, "Die Litterae Formatae im Frühmittelalter," *Archiv für Urkundenforschung* 9 (1926): 39–86, 168–94.

58. Aside from the editions of Martène-Durand and of Monchamp (above, n. 56)

59. Devisse, *Hincmar*, vol. 2, 849.

60. The best edition, though still impossibly faulty, is E. Martène and U. Durand, *Veterum scriptorum*, vol. 1, col. 157–58. It also appears in Patrologia Latina 126, col. 277A.

61. The same *HI* monogram also turns up, without any accompanying text, at the bottom of folios 14r and 41r in ms. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Phillipps 1895. This manuscript contains a copy of Bede's *Chronicon* that originated at Saint-Amand in the third quarter of the ninth century, and reached Reims already in the ninth century and Metz in the eleventh. See Bischoff, *Katalog*,

vol. 1, 93, no. 443. In addition, on folio 2r of ms. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Phillipps 1741, the letter *H* may also be related to the question of Hincmar's monogram. It is a collection of canon law from Reims in the period of Hincmar. See Bischoff, *Katalog*, vol. 1, 88, no. 419. I have been, since writing this article. On Hincmar's bookmarks (most of them without a monogram), see Frederick M. Carey, "The Scriptorium of Reims during the Archbishopric of Hincmar (845–882 A.D.)," in *Classical and Mediaeval Studies in Honor of Edward Kennard Rand*, edited by Leslie Webber Jones, 41–60, at 49–56 (New York: L. W. Jones, 1938). To Carey's list may be added Paris, B.N.F., lat. 12132. The deliberately effaced donation marks in this manuscript were observed by Jean Vezin, "Hincmar de Reims et Saint-Denis. À propos de deux manuscrits du *De Trinitate* de saint Hilaire," *Revue d'histoire des textes* 9 (1979): 289–98, at 290.

62. Wilhelm Köhler and Florentine Mütherich, *Die karolingischen Miniaturen*, vol. 6, pt. 2, 1 (text), *Die Schule von Reims von der Mitte bis zum Ende des 9. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin: Deutscher Verlag für Kunstwissenschaft, 1999), 93–99.

63. See the detailed description in Jean Vezin, "Reims et Saint-Denis au IXe siècle. L'ancêtre du manuscrit 118 de la Bibliothèque municipale de Reims," *Revue Bénédictine* 94 (1984): 315–25. The *HI* monogram was also noted by Veronika von Büren and Jean Meyers, "Quelques poèmes inédits de Sedulius Scottus dans le *Codex Vaticanus Latinus* 4493?" *Archivum Latinitatis Medii Aevi* 57 (1999): 53–110, at 68, who, though citing Vezin who urged for identifying *HI* with Hincmar of Laon, adduce only this manuscript to argue that Hincmar of Reims used a monogram regularly ("Hincmar semble avoir eu l'habitude de signer les manuscrits qu'il a destinés à d'autres personnes par son monogramme"). I have found only one other case where the *HI* monogram is used in a gift, namely, Reims 7, discussed above. Von Büren and Meyers also note the presence of the *HCM* monogram in Valenciennes 293 and Brussels 1831–1833.

64. On folios 11v–12r a different hand from that of the donation marks also places the codex at Reims: *Liber Sanctae Mariae/Remensis Ecclesiae*. This bookmark appears to join the first quire of the surrounding work, *De titulis psalmorum* to the second.

65. That these monograms often signify textual units or gathering units is not surprising. For the full, regular Hincmar bookmark shows the same ostensible purpose in a number of manuscripts. In ms. Cambridge, Pembroke College 308, the regular *ex-dono* mark figures some twenty-three times, at virtually every quire division, as if to signify that Hincmar authorized the copy or that these gatherings belong together. See Jean Vezin, "La répartition du travail," 218–23.

Chapter 9

George of Pisidia and *Contra Severum*

Panegyric and Polemic as Sources for Interpreting Religious Policy

Daniel Larison

I first met Walter Kaegi at the start of his course on late Byzantine history, but it was through his research and writing that I became fascinated by the middle Byzantine period and above all the seventh century. Walter's extensive work on the career of the emperor Heraclius and on the Islamic invasions inspired me to focus my own research on the seventh century, and as a result I pursued a project on the origins of Monotheletism that grew into my dissertation on the acts of the sixth ecumenical council. The following study of a poem by George of Pisidia comes out of that work, none of which would not have been possible without Walter's invaluable help and guidance.

George of Pisidia's *Contra Severum* is a seventh-century iambic poem dedicated to extolling the emperor Heraclius's military and theological prowess over the Byzantine empire's enemies foreign and domestic. It also serves a polemical and heresiological function as a demonstration of the confusion and falsehood inherent in the doctrines of Severos of Antioch (d. 538) as part of an anti-Monophysite statement related to imperial religious policy. As its full title, *Against the Impieties of Severos of Antioch*, would suggest, the poem focuses most of its attention on a refutation of Severan Christology and, by extension, the Christology of all anti-Chalcedonians for whom Severos was a great theologian and bishop and of whom Severos was seen as an archetypical representative. The poem was commissioned in the 630s, perhaps as early as 631 according to Whitby[1] or perhaps as late as 638 according to MacCoull,[2] at the height of Heraclius and Patriarch Sergios's efforts to advance the doctrines of Monoenergism and, after 638, Monotheletism.[3] However, like George's other poems, *Contra Severum* contains information not only about historical events as seen through the eyes of the court poet and refracted through the lens of official propaganda, but also reveals the relationship between panegyric, orthodoxy, and the categorization and use of heresy, and provides a window onto the attitudes of the Byzantine political and ecclesiastical elite toward the empire's largest religious dissident population during the decade when Heraclius was establishing his ecclesiastical policy in the wake of the victory over the Persians and during the first years of the Islamic invasions. It is therefore a crucial document in evaluating the official judgment of Severos and, through him, all anti-Chalcedonians, and has immediate significance for changing our interpretations of the promulgations of Monoenergism and Monotheletism.

If the atmosphere at court and in the patriarchate was one of stark anti-Monophysite sentiment, resentment against *perceived* Monophysite spiritual subversion of the empire, a theological polemic against Monophysitism's most prominent figure, would go a long way toward confirming the impression given by the *Ekthesis*' condemnation of Severos that Heraclian religious policy was not aimed at reconciliation with the anti-Chalcedonians. Instead, it was aimed at reconquest of anti-Chalcedonian populations from their own hierarchies and traditions. George suggests as much when he refers to Heraclius, the one who "governs the *oikoumene* with God," who would "persuade in words those who are impious on account of ignorance and he would *compel* them to be pious."[4] Through his rhetorical alignment of Monophysitism both theologically and metaphorically with the concept of confusion, as well as images of disorder, references to classical monsters, such as the hydra, and most importantly with Khusrau II, the Sasanian *shahanshah*, George conveys a portrait of Severos and his spiritual offspring that can only be called damning. Whether the poem was an immediate affirmation of the outcome of Heraclius's meetings with the Jacobite patriarch of Antioch, Athanasios, in 631 in Hierapolis or whether it was an affirmation of the decree of the *Ekthesis* in 638 or fell at some point in between the two, it was aimed at defending and praising the theological settlement Heraclius had reached, which George casts in the most powerfully anti-Monophysite light imaginable. I believe this is not, however, a case of propaganda masking failed policy or serving as a way to conceal the supposed concessions made to anti-Chalcedonians, but an expression of Heraclian commitment to the supremacy of Chalcedonianism and a triumphalist affirmation of its potential to "silence" finally the anti-Chalcedonian resistance and create a religiously uniform empire.

As a heresiological text, it refers to a number of patristic authorities and ties its praise for the prophets, the *theoptoi* (God-seers),[5] and "God-seeing fathers"[6] to the emperor through terms of visuality and light, which will also be important later in discussions of conceptions of the emperor's religious role. Apparently unique among imperial panegyrical poems, it contains a kind of *florilegium* that refers to, but does not directly quote, several church fathers acknowledged by both confessions in the seventh century (e.g., Cyril, Ephrem, Gregory of Nyssa) and even taps into the authority and prestige of the philosopher and martyr Justin of the second century. In his praise of Heraclius's theologically subtle mind, George aligns him with the great church fathers whom he invokes to refute Severos and effectively parallels their refutation of Severos's doctrine with Heraclius's own success in "defeating" the anti-Chalcedonians at Hierapolis.

The commingling of the ideological rhetoric of empire in early Heraclian panegyric with theological polemic and its invocations of patristic authorities appears prominently in the work of George of Pisidia, in particular in *Contra Severum*, written after the defeat and later assassination (629) of the Persian king Khusrau II, whose death George mentions in the poem, and probably shortly after Heraclius's meeting with the Jacobite bishops in Hierapolis in 631, to which George also refers in detail.[7] Heraclius's public condemnation of Severos of Antioch, one of the leading and most influential Monophysite theologians of all time, in the *Ekthesis* (638) was still forthcoming, though his government and patriarch Sergios would have maintained the same anathemas handed down to them from the time of Justinian. In any event, George's highly charged and extremely political doctrinal polemic against adherents of Severos's theology represents a unique combination of concerns of imperial panegyric, itself a reflection of imperial elite conceptions and interests, and rigorous orthodoxy as a buttress to imperial authority and vice versa.

As someone who held the posts of *skevophylax* and *referendarios* during his career at Hagia Sophia, George would have come to be an important figure in the ecclesiastical politics of the Great Church and probably closely aligned with the views of the patriarch Sergios until the latter's death in late 638. Whether he rose to these positions after writing this poem, or already secured them, his presence at the nerve center of Byzantine religious policy argues strongly that the views expressed in this poem—which were assuredly intended for an audience, if only that of the emperor—met with the approval of the patriarch and, probably through his considerable influence on Heraclius, of the emperor as well.

This is not to claim that *Contra Severum* was necessarily the main inspiration for later anti-Monophysite policies, much less the direct cause. Other imperatives of imperial ideology and practical politics (e.g., unity of faith as a general principle of Byzantine ideology, punishing disobedient subjects, enforcing government authority over newly reconquered territories, and Sergios's own theological enthusiasms) would also have had much to do with Heraclius's decisions on religious policy. *Contra Severum* serves as an important reflection and representation of the ways in which the construction of imperial authority was combined with citations of patristic authorities in polemic against religious dissidents and thus how textual and imperial authority created and reinforced one another. The *Ekthesis*, confirmed by local Constantinopolitan councils, put the official seal of approval on George's anti-Severan poem when it reproduced the anathemas against Severos from the sixth century, just as it reproduced the confession of faith from that council as its own. Conciliar authority had endorsed the marriage of imperial and textual authority in the *Ekthesis*, even as the edict reproduced the confession of faith, and the conciliar and imperial authority, from the reign of another great anti-Severan emperor, Justinian. Nonetheless, in the *Ekthesis* episode imperial authority looms large, just as the edict itself evidently came to dominate the space of Hagia Sophia physically and visually, and text is the symbol of the emperor and his identification with the religious policy of Justinian.

Contra Severum is unusual for literature that is heavily theological in content, and especially for apologetic or polemic, in that it is addressed on the one hand specifically to the emperor and on the other to the chief representative of anti-Chalcedonian theology, Severos of Antioch. George counterpoises Heraclius's role as the *Euergetes* doing spiritual works (thus also combining the pious emperor with a conventional Hellenistic royal title possessing connotations of divine characteristics) with Khusrau's devastation of the countryside that is directly linked to the erstwhile "pro-Monophysite" position of Khusrau. George attributes this position to him on account of the church council summoned by the king at which Monophysite clergy were the attendees and favored Christians in the occupied territories as former dissidents against the earlier ecclesiastical order. As Severos is aligned with the empire's greatest recent foreign enemy, every argument against Severos that follows also implies praise for Heraclius for his success in defeating the Persians and the Monophysites alike. The Persian occupation had been an unprecedented period in Roman-Byzantine history, so it is not surprising that it produced an entirely unprecedented literary marriage between panegyric and polemic, poetry and heresiology.

George's *Contra Severum* provides important information about elite Byzantine attitudes toward the main heretical group in the empire at the moment of Byzantine victory, around the time of Heraclius's official embrace of Monoenergism, which would eventually lead in the course of its own development to the official acceptance of Monotheletism. This in itself will significantly enrich interpretations of Heraclius's religious policy, the relations between imperial ideology and that policy and our understanding of contemporary interconfessional relations, in which the failure of unionism amid persecution in the 630s has received, understandably enough, the most attention, but at the cost of largely overshadowing George of Pisidia's contribution to the contemporary discourse. Importantly, George's intense anti-Monophysite sentiments, explicitly joined to an anti-Persian invective focused on the person of the dead Persian king, are revealing in what they may tell us about the attitudes of church elites and the high imperial circles in which the clergy of Hagia Sophia, such as George, moved. It is difficult to know whether the emperor's panegyrical poet's views can readily be attributed to the emperor himself, but the pressures of patronage and the requirements of satisfying his audience would probably, on balance, outweigh potential advocacy for a cause with which the emperor was largely unsympathetic but which George believed to be imperative. If George was intensely anti-Monophysite, that suggests that Heraclius was too. This may flesh out Heraclius's attitudes and better explain Byzantine religious policy, especially its persecutorial and particularly exclusivist and triumphalist character in Heraclius's reign. Heraclius's practical anti-Monophysitism is clear enough in his policies in Egypt under Kyros of Alexandria, and still more so in the polemical background of the doctrinal tradition to which his patriarch and the Byzantine church subscribed during his reign. The unity of political and anti-Monophysite polemical statements in *Contra Severum* reflects a mentality in the Constantinopolitan elite intensely hostile to any dissent, especially the Severan form of it. Taken with all other evidence about Byzantine religious policy and the place of Monophysites in the empire, the idea of "conciliatory" religious policies under Heraclius is not tenable.

On another level, George is engaging in this text in multiple constructions of identity, most explicitly the identification of Severan Monophysites in the empire with the "barbarian" king, Zoroastrian magi, and his destructive war against the Romans (Byzantines) and the reciprocal identification of Khusrau as a sponsor of Monophysitism. The war now over, and Persia defeated, the Christian-Zoroastrian/non-Christian opposition invoked and maintained by the emperor and the Byzantine elite has disappeared in this particular poem, as the heretic and non-Christian become one and the same and the king who wrought devastation on the empire becomes a supporter, and by association a member, of the heretical group. George accuses Khusrau of having designs not only to destroy Byzantine bodies, but of wanting to engage in a particularly medieval kind of *psychological* warfare by despoiling the hearts of Byzantines in the same way that he was supposed to have despoiled their cities. Khusrau represents the complete subversion of all orders, and the teachings of Severos are his destabilizing and ruining tool. It is likely that the confusion (*phursis*) attributed to Severan Christology is meant as a repeated swipe at the disorder and political confusion created by Khusrau during his invasion. The memory of some kind of "collaboration" as represented in the Khusrau-sponsored council had not disappeared quickly from the minds of at least some of the Byzantine elite. Instead, it seems to have festered and become quite virulent, or at least was rhetorically crafted and meant to appear that way, even after Khusrau was dead and the Byzantine clients Ardashir III and Shahrbaraz ruled in Ctesiphon.

The poem thus also announces a sort of continuation of the war against Khusrau in continued or renewed official Byzantine opposition to the Severan Monophysites. Identifying Monophysitism as Khusrau's supposed spiritual weapon against Byzantine hearts, the poem was probably an attempt to direct the emperor's attention against what were being portrayed as the last remnants of the "enemy." In this vein, the opening of the poem, in which he laments attempts to define and discuss the mysteries of the faith in words, takes a surprising apophatic stance at the start of what will be a pointed, detailed polemic that does not avoid inquiry into spiritual matters. In the process he sets up the heretic as the theological aggressor in parallel with Khusrau's actual invasion: theological speculation, aggression, and alien-ness are linked as violent incursions on and confusions of the pristine Byzantine orthodox, imperial order. If we could take this as an indication of the dominant attitudes of Byzantine ecclesiastical officialdom at the end of the 620s, *Contra Severum* might serve as a general outline or rationale for Heraclius's religious policy along the following lines, though the poem might not explicitly lay out the steps of implementation: Chalcedonian triumphalism, unionism based on eliminating heresy and not negotiating with it, and renewed persecution in the face of any resistance. The theme of silencing heretics recurs in several places: Heraclius is said to have silenced them,[8] and George commands Severos—who stands in for all Monophysites—to be silent.[9]

Scholars of George of Pisidia's work have tended to pay less attention to his more explicitly religious poems in favor of his longer panegyrics that provide valuable and unique information on Heraclius's preparations and conduct of the Persian campaigns between 622 and 628, which meant that *Contra Severum* lacked the sort of thorough study given to George's *Heraklias, Persian Wars* and *On the Return from Africa*, among others.[10] However, there has long been an understanding that *Contra Severum* was related to the ecclesiastical politics of the 630s. According to Mary Whitby, the poem was "promoting Heraclius's moves to counter Monophysitism."[11] It is notable that this perception of *Contra Severum* and Heraclius's overall religious policy has not won over most scholars who have looked at the question. In a thorough, generally excellent study of the poem, MacCoull argued that it represented an aspect of official propaganda with some relation to imperial religious policy, regarding it as a propagandistic effort to reassure the Chalcedonians of Syria that the *Ekthesis* did not represent a fundamental break with Chalcedon.[12] The significance of the poem for the history of imperial religious policy turns in large part on how one characterizes the poem and then how one relates the poem's anti-Monophysite polemic to the conventional interpretation of religious policy and Monoenergism/Monotheletism as compromises with the anti-Chalcedonian majority in the Near Eastern provinces. Whitby's view of the poem as a promotion of anti-Monophysite policy, rather than a consolation to anxious Chalcedonians, is the correct reading of *Contra Severum* and the appropriate use of the poem as evidence for interpreting imperial religious policy during the decisive decade of the 630s.

MacCoull makes a plausible argument that the plural form of the word *ekthesis* George uses in the poem[13] is related to none other than Heraclius's edict of 638 of the same name, *Ekthesis tes pisteos* (Exposition of the Faith), and leans heavily on this identification in justifying the 638 date she gives the poem.[14] It may be significant, however, that George seems to be referring to Chalcedonians in general ("*we* have written") as the authors of the "*ektheseis*," continuing in his pattern of indignant disbelief over the fact that "Severos" (i.e., anti-Chalcedonians) persists in holding to his erroneous doctrine in spite of the many proofs offered against it. Normally, George's descriptions of official imperial triumphs over heretics are always elsewhere ascribed directly to the person of the emperor. In this example from the poem, it is a reference to multiple expositions rather than one which does make it slightly harder to closely identify the *ektheseis* of the poem with the *Ekthesis* itself. It is possible that the *Ekthesis* of 638 was only one of several official *ektheseis* with anti-Monophysite content, and the edict of 638 happens to be the only that has survived through Dyothelete records. But if MacCoull is right about this identification and the general tone of the poem, her later conclusions about imperial policy and part of her description of George's doctrine cannot be correct. Furthermore, if *Contra Severum* mirrors the content of these *ektheseis* to which George refers, these *ektheseis*, including the edict of 638, must be staunchly, undeniably polemically anti-Monophysite, which makes claims of imperial "compromise" with or conciliation of anti-Chalcedonians much harder to sustain.

It is reasonable that the anti-Severan poem and the *Ekthesis*, which confirmed past condemnations of Severos as a heretic, could be closely related both in inspiration and in time, but this severely undermines MacCoull's reiteration of the view that the establishment of Monotheletism was a compromise and throws into doubt her description of the poem as a means of reassuring potentially alienated Chalcedonians. It directly detracts from the interpretation of the *Ekthesis* as an edict designed "to set forth the Monothelete compromise principally to conciliate the Monophysites, not least those of Antioch and Syria, Sergius's home."[15] If the *Ekthesis* were designed to "conciliate" Monophysites, particularly in Antioch and Syria, the one anti-Chalcedonian theologian it would likely have *not* condemned was Severos of Antioch, who was beloved as a saint by anti-Chalcedonians throughout the East (as MacCoull correctly notes)[16] and who presumably would have retained some importance for the Syrian anti-Chalcedonians as one of their most famous and intellectually accomplished patriarchs of Antioch.

One important problem in the interpretation of the comparison of the poem and edict, which do bear a strong resemblance to one another in certain places, is MacCoull's description of George's Cyrilline treatment of the paradoxical parallels of the sufferings and wonders, the work of the humanity and the divinity in one person, as "assigning of the activities proper to each nature."[17] However, if *Contra Severum* is tied closely to the imperial promulgation of Monotheletism, the official Monotheletism of the church would not permit him to assign activities to each nature. Affirming that activity and will were rooted in Christ's hypostasis and person in order to preserve the unity of Christ was the core of the Monoenergist and Monothelete doctrine. Assigning activities to nature instead of the person would have contradicted that. Instead George sees all activity as coming from the Logos in a twofold manner, and a close reading of the lines in question will show this:

For being perfect God, He possesses unconfusedly
And without diminution the nature of man,
Guarding the full natures of both,
He does (*dra*) the one in communion with the other.
As man He sleeps, as God again secures
From the bold mouth of death.
In suffering, but He opens the graves.
In hunger as a man, He fed with bread
The mouth of 10,000 poor.
He weeps for buried Lazarus,
He enlivens the one with stinking limbs.
He purifies the lepers and is willingly scourged.
He raises the dead and surrenders to the tomb.[18]

As these lines show, in each case George emphasizes the unity of action in each nature, stressing how Christ was the one acting through both natures, which strongly suggests that George was working not only from Cyrilline precedents of paradoxically ascribing the sufferings and the wonders to the same subject, the Logos, but also was probably advancing the Monoenergist and Monothelete claim that energy and will were rooted in the *hypostasis* of the Word.

The context of the theological polemic against Severos is naturally that of magnifying the orthodox and pious virtues of the emperor Heraclius, who is compared directly to various biblical and mythological figures, among them Moses[19] and Heracles, and his struggle with the various Monophysite sects is cast in terms of the Heraclean labor of slaying the Hydra. Indeed, the variety and number of these sects and the supposedly hydra-like quality of Monophysite sects' sprouting from others are all used against the followers of Severos, who is identified with the "confounding" teaching of supposed Monophysite confusion of the natures by the address as "confounded

Severos."[20] The scattered and varied nature of the sects is taken as further evidence of their overall deviancy. Tautologically, George argues that they and the Nestorians are not on the right path (*euthetos hodos*) because they travel on the paths on either side of the middle road, but this reemphasizes the orthodox claim to centrality and unity, while heresy means, by definition, dispersion and sectarianism.

Perhaps quite predictably, but nonetheless crucially, Severos's followers are explicitly classed as representatives of *ataxia*, disorder, the obvious antithesis of the stable, conservative Byzantine ideals of *taxis*[21] and stasis.[22] In this sense, Christological battles can refer to and reflect conceptions of social and political hierarchy, and political and ideological assumptions are marshaled in defense of principally theological positions, nowhere more so than in a work such as *Contra Severum*. Add to that George's reproduction in his other works of the ancient *topos* of the battle between Greek civilization and Persian barbarism, and one can see just how completely Severos and his followers have been cast out of every circle of Byzantine identity in George's identification of them with the Persian "barbarian" Other. George could not make the divisions much clearer: Severos and his followers are theologically disordered, fundamentally alien, and share in the general political and cultural disorder of the world beyond the *oikumene* in which *ataxia* runs rampant.

The historical basis for identifying Khusrau and Monophysitism was extremely slight, but from the perspective of the Byzantine orthodox, whose empire had only just survived a devastating assault to emerge the victor, the relatively greater favor shown to anti-Chalcedonian churches inside Byzantine territories because of their previously dissident status was evidently a bitter memory for the Constantinopolitan elite. It underscored the danger of the continued existence of these dissident churches, not so much because of political disaffection leading directly to easy foreign invasion, but because they would represent an alternative ecclesiastical structure with which any invader could collaborate instead of having to work through Chalcedonian churches. The fierce and intense nature of George's polemics seems meant to drive home to Heraclius the imperative to quell heresy, to make them "be quiet" (*eremein*), just as he had quelled the barbarian not simply as a natural function of his office and a requirement of orthodox rule but as the natural response of philanthropy to violence.

The silence of dissidents was indeed golden, and their continued discourse would forever be a destabilizing factor in conceptual, ideological, and spiritual terms. For George, and the ecclesiastical and perhaps secular elite along with him, there was no concern with dissident Christians betraying the empire as such, for which there is little if any actual evidence and little or no evidence of imperial anxiety over such potential betrayal, but rather it is his conviction that the very existence of these Monophysite churches is an ongoing distortion and subversion of Byzantine society by elements that have been identified with the foreign invader and personally with the most loathed Persian ruler in Byzantine memory. That Khusrau took an interest in promoting the Monophysite churches inside the territories he had conquered from the Byzantines was sufficient to damn the dissident churches as traitors and Khusrau as the support of theological error. The Sasanian king serves the odd function of anti-emperor endorsing the heresy of a religion in which he did not believe to create the ultimate antagonist and reverse image of George's Heraclius, who bears divine writings in his heart written by the finger of God. It serves to magnify the wickedness of Khusrau as a spiritual, and not merely political, monster: a Nebuchadnezzar, so to speak, possessed with what heresiologists called the "madness" of Arius. Likewise, Severan teaching becomes tarred with Khusrau's devastation, even as its Christian identity is cast into doubt by its supposed empowering of Zoroastrian magi and its protection by a non-Christian ruler; where one might have seen in Khusrau a sponsor of certain Christian churches, and thus in some respects a "pro-Christian" ruler, his protection is a mark of shame and further stigma on anti-Chalcedonians. Heresy and simple infidelity are collapsed into one another and become indistinguishable, though George does retain some slight opening for Severans to return to the fold of the Chalcedonian church.

Ideology and polemic do not necessarily drive practical affairs, which are often arranged on the basis of what is feasible and expedient, based on the exigencies and contingencies of the moment, but they do direct and constrain them to a high degree. Heraclius could, when necessary, be flexible with the strictness of his religious policy, the use of coercion and the emphasis on pressing a new doctrine in tandem with his ally, the patriarch Sergios, but basic inflexibilities and structures of thought created by the categories of confessional polemic and the expectations of imperial ideology and panegyric held enormous sway over the actors in early-seventh-century Byzantium. What the statements in *Contra Severum* show is the militant and polemical mentality then current in Byzantium immediately after victory over Persia. Under the circumstances, after more than two decades of war on and off, the triumphalism and militancy are perhaps understandable, but they are also features that applied to Heraclius's postwar domestic policies as well as to the official wartime view of the Sasanians. In the peace settlement, the Sasanian kingdom itself was let off relatively lightly for reasons of imperial security: Byzantium needed a stable and cohesive Persia to secure the eastern frontier against less predictable invaders. State security required a calmer view of Persia than the one George had provided, and Khusrau, the villain of the piece, was dead at the hands of the new rulers of Persia. However, dissident churches remained simply a liability, and if Monophysites were particularly viewed as tainted with collaboration, even though evidence of actual, practical collaboration that was not coerced is minimal at best, that liability went from being a persistent embarrassment to an intolerable obstacle to imperial restoration following the war. Victory in the war presented a perceived opportunity to "redraw" the ecclesiastical map of the Near East to Chalcedonian advantage.

The poem begins with praise for Heraclius's theological virtuosity, combined with an attack on those who have attempted to scrutinize the nature of God in unsuitable and inappropriate ways. Throughout the poem George urges Severos and his confreres to be silent and calls on Heraclius to silence them, and he emphasizes this theme of silence from the very beginning when he declares that the boundaries of the faith ought to have been kept in "mystical silence."[23] In this way George founds the critique that follows—which will by no means avoid using very specific technical definitions of the two natures of Christ—on the apophatic restraint of the Chalcedonians and sets up the refutation of Severos as a response to an impious inquiry into things that should not be scrutinized; he can thus cast Severos as the one acting presumptively and proudly, while he simply responds in defense of ancient received truth. But implicit throughout is that Severos and the other anti-Chalcedonians have no place to speak about these things, and the very attempt is deemed inappropriate: they should have always been silent and ought to be silent again. Tied closely to this is the concern to suppress and eliminate anti-Chalcedonian Christology from the empire all together.

Almost immediately after these first lines George ties Severos to the recently overcome external threat of Khusrau's invasion and makes Severos the symbol for Khusrau's religious and "psychological" attack on the empire: Khusrau has presided over the "speculations of Severos" (*Severou skemmaton*) and has "elected him mystagogue of error" (*hos mustagogos cheirotonisas planis*) in order to attack the hearts of Christians and destroy the orthodox faith.[24] George probably alludes here to a council comprising representatives of Chalcedonians, Monophysites, and Nestorians held in 614 at Ctesiphon that resulted, according to Sebeos, in the temporary supremacy of the anti-Chalcedonian position, at least within the former Roman provinces.[25] This was presumably entirely for reasons of helping to facilitate the Persian occupation of these regions where anti-Chalcedonians formed the majority, rather than any particular preference on the part of Khusrau for anti-Chalcedonian theology, in which he would have no necessary interest as a Zoroastrian ruler. The brief supremacy of anti-Chalcedonian churchmen under the Persian occupation likely remained a sore point with the victorious Byzantine authorities and allowed George to closely associate the devastations of the Persian invasions with the spiritual depredations of Severos's erroneous Christology while also casting doubt on the political loyalty of anti-Chalcedonians.

The dissidents could be cast as barbarians or their theological equivalents without necessarily risking much damage to imperial ideology: those who excluded themselves from the publicly confessed doctrine of the empire had, in the view of this Chalcedonian polemicist, excluded themselves from the empire as well. George's rhetoric is obviously that of denunciation, invective, and Chalcedonian superiority, and as such may represent only the more conservative elements inside the patriarchal church, but, given his high status, his relatively strong views would probably not have been that far from those of the chief decision-makers in Sergios and Heraclius. Union was part of Heraclius's plan, but it was a union based on an ecclesiastical sort of reconquest, just as the lost Byzantine territories had been taken back from Persian occupation—the alignment of Severos and Khusrau on the same side suggests as much. George's identification of Persians and Monophysites would have lent itself to Heraclius's general drive for religious uniformity, which was itself normal enough for any Byzantine emperor, and readily translated that drive for uniformity into an intentionally confrontational religious policy modeled on the recently successful war.

A panegyrical text affirms imperial authority and lends that authority the meaning and public image it needs to function in a society centered on rhetoric and steeped in allusive imagery and religious symbolism. Even as propaganda, panegyric circulates and distributes political information about the expectations of the elite, the intentions of the government, or the ongoing contest between the ruler and his critics. As a theological text, a polemic focuses on specific authors and especially on caricaturing their personalities, or reducing them to identifiable ciphers for their theological positions: Severos becomes simply and Cyril, his opposite, is someone who never taught anything remotely resembling the confusion of natures.[26] In polemics, authorial names are the ammunition for the author, and there need be no direct references to their writings or conceptions: they situate the debate and stand in for extensive descriptions of their positions, and the polemicist works on the assumption that his audience shares enough of his preconceptions about the target of the polemic that his statements require little or no explanation or qualification. The contrast George draws between Cyril and Severos is stark and very significant, as Severos bases his Christology heavily on that of Cyril's *mia physis* and other related statements, and by appropriating Cyril for the Chalcedonian cause, like so many others before him, George has sought to undermine fatally the Severan claim to legitimate patristic authority and the anti-Chalcedonians' claims to possessing an authentic connection with the past.

As a form of *psogos*, polemic is the natural pairing with the *epainesis* of panegyric. It is rare, however, for an expressly heresiological work to be both an invective against a foreign ruler and a panegyric for one's own while also underwriting these two approaches with the theological oppositions that become more prominent and important as *Contra Severum* continues. George's arguments for Chalcedon and against Severos are fairly conventional and turn on the standard points of contention: the Severan error of always equating nature and hypostasis, the Severan refusal to accept the formula "in two natures," lessons derived from Trinitarian theology, the inevitable charge of confusion, and others. It is fair to say that a document such as this would not have been produced by a high-ranking member of the patriarchal church if the patriarch held some conciliatory feelings for Monophysite churches, unless conciliation is understood in an unusual way to mean complete surrender by one side to another.

A curious element in the structure of the work is the fact that it is targeted very directly at one person and his teachings, namely, Severos of Antioch, who becomes the personification of a religious phenomenon that is, as George himself is happy to admit, varied, diverse, and not at all unanimous in its views. Monophysites (a term that would have still been, as of the writing of George's work, unknown to Byzantine authors) needed to be categorized if they were to be reduced to readily rejected propositions. How better to categorize the wide array of Monophysite churches than to place them all at the feet of a personification, treating Severos as the font of all Monophysitism, rather than simply one of its more accomplished theologians and episcopal leaders? To further the mythological reference to the hydra and Herakles, George will playfully invoke the old anti-Monophysite moniker of *Akephaloi* (the headless ones), which was applied to extreme Egyptian Monophysites after their break with the patriarch of Alexandria, Peter Mongos, who had accepted Zeno's *Henotikon*, but the nature of the treatise implies that the *Akephaloi* do have a spiritual leader in Severos.[27] Yet it is the overriding argument of the poem that Severan theology is itself disordered and confused—for George, it is a natural fit to have a multi-headed, serpentine image juxtaposed with a unified personification of all that the image is meant to represent, because the former springs from the latter and both possess a basic disorderliness that betrays an absence of rule or leadership.

Contra Severum constructs imperial authority as the only guardian of orthodoxy; the church and its councils receive no mention to speak of. It is the emperor who is like a new Moses bringing down the divinely inscribed tablets, which are written on his heart,[28] and again the emperor who suppresses error. Though written by a leading member of the patriarchal clergy, the poem makes the role of patriarch and clergy either in defeating Khusrau or fighting Severos's followers virtually nonexistent. A few church fathers receive mention when they are needed for the theological arguments, but they receive practically none of the fulsome praise and striking comparisons with biblical and mythological heroes that Heraclius does. In theological terms, *Contra Severum* does not rely on the sort of direct borrowing and imitation through *florilegia* or patristic quotations that other polemics would use before and after this. Granted that the iambic triameter form of the polemic would make it difficult to cite patristic quotations, *Contra Severum* is remarkably original in the way that traditional anti-Monophysite arguments are presented and represents the low tide of the heavily imitative, reproductive nature of most theological argument in the seventh century that would reach its peak at the two major councils of the century in 649 and 680/681.

George of Pisidia combines a flair for classical and biblical allusions with the increasing tendency in the late sixth and seventh centuries to debate theology in the confines of patristic *catenae*, rival authorities, and the relatively new habit of developing an imagined *catena* of heretical inheritance that formed, for each confession, a kind of anti-tradition to which opponents belonged. Depending on the author and the circumstances, this anti-tradition might be more or less extensive, as it might include a long lineage traced back to Arius or Paul of Samosata or simply be embodied in one of the arch-rival teachers, whether Nestorios or Severos, depending on the perspective. In the case of George, Severos is the root of all contemporary Monophysitism and even shares in the ontological mistakes of Nestorianism in a heresiological turn of uniting all heresies to one another in a sort of pan-heretical structure, in which one heresy participates in and implies all the others. Aiming criticism at the grand theologian of the Jacobite theological tradition was supposed to "break the chain" of Monophysite patristic authority, revealing their tradition to be bereft of right belief and thus not worth maintaining any longer.

George's selection of the fathers he invokes is fairly eclectic, though not entirely surprising: Justin Martyr, Ephrem the Syrian, Cyril and Gregory of Nyssa. What is notable is the way in which the names of great fathers are invoked, after which follows George's repetition of his boilerplate neo-Chalcedonian definition as if this post-553 position were obviously and naturally that of Ephrem the Syrian and Cyril of Alexandria—understandably, George believes it to be so, but unlike the use of *florilegium* and chains of patristic witness he uses no extracts directly from patristic writings. George has received the patristic authorities, but they function more as symbols of the themes George wants to develop: Justin is the symbol of martyrdom in the orthodox faith; Ephrem is both an anachronistic, anticipatory witness to orthodoxy of Chalcedon and "fellow" Syrian called upon to refute "the Syrians"; naming Cyril serves to cast Severos as a hypocrite for denying what Cyril allegedly taught in a complete appropriation of the father on the interpretation of whose writings so much of later Monophysitism depended. He is apparently working from Leontios of Jerusalem's anti-Monophysite polemic, but George seems to never mention that author at all.

The poem addresses various individuals as it progresses: first Heraclius, then Severos, now Cyril, then Ephrem, and so on. Most of the poem is aimed at refuting, or mostly ridiculing, Severan doctrine, but at strategic moments George will engage in an excursus on the virtues of Heraclius and his association with the doctrine George is outlining, or he will offer brief, favorable comments on the selected orthodox fathers. The poem seems designed for an imperial audience and aimed at raising the reputation of the emperor for both physical and spiritual feats of valor: it is the emperor who is called upon to act against heresy, and it is the emperor whose virtues and accomplishments are excessively flattered and the emperor who is aligned explicitly with George's doctrine. As a panegyric, it would have probably been intended for performance before the emperor and the court, and thus would serve the purposes of praise for and an artful endorsement of official policy. Even if circumstances did not allow for its performance, the poem was a representation of Heraclius's public image and the way in which he wanted his religious policy to be seen by the church and the court that very likely met with the approval of the highest church authorities. By extension it may have represented the public goals of that policy, which are the typical theocratic imperatives of uniformity of belief and the extirpation of dissent. Philanthropic coercion, the theme of George's view of the overthrow of Phokas and the war against Persia, once again appears as a noble attribute of Heraclius's rule.

The contemporary target of the poem's polemic seems to have been Monophysites in Syria, as it was Heraclius's efforts in Syria and the identity of the Monophysites listed as "the Syrians" at one point that received particular attention, and the choice of Ephrem as standard-bearer of Byzantine orthodoxy: "you come from the Syrians (*ek ton Suron proelthe*) and fight the Syrians," George exhorts the figure of Ephrem.[29] Because he was universally admired and respected by all confessions in Syria, this was a powerful polemical move aimed at least at scoring points off Syrian Monophysites to encourage the emperor to punish the recalcitrant dissidents who had opposed him at Hierapolis—though the encounter at Hierapolis is naturally portrayed as being a victory for Heraclius's authority.[30] The labeling of Monophysites as "Syrians" is also understandable in light of Severos's career as patriarch of Antioch, though he was not himself a Syrian. Heraclius was present in Syria in the early 630s, passing through Antioch and later running the military operations against Islamic invaders from that city for several years, so the apparent preoccupations with Syrian matters in the poem would fit together well with this stage of Heraclius's own career.

Though George, as a deacon at Hagia Sophia, would certainly have not been accompanying Heraclius on campaigns, as *referendarios* he would have been responsible for patriarchal communication with the emperor and might have had opportunity to send this poem to the emperor along with other official communications from the patriarch. While Sergios was the architect of the doctrinal content of Heraclius's policies, George would probably have been a vital link in the formation, coordination, and transmission of those policies, so it is quite possible that only shortly before the very time Sergios was promulgating the *Psephos* supporting Monoenergism in 633 he had received George's *Contra Severum* and may have been promulgating his edict to achieve the anti-Monophysite goals the poem was recommending.

The use of Ephrem is undoubtedly, specifically anti-Monophysite, as George proceeds to lay out the conventional refutations of Monophysitism and an affirmation of Chalcedon's doctrine of two natures. The section praising Ephrem's doctrine leads directly into George's aforementioned Cyrilline description of how Christ works as man and God, moving from the patristic support of Ephrem to the hypostatic unity of Christ in which the Logos performs both human and divine acts. It seems likely that the combined emphasis on unity of action and duality of natures at least obliquely refers to the official imperial Monoenergism of the 630s, and it is probably meant as a rebuke to those who teach a single natural energy. These elements, together with the intense focus on Severos and opposition to "the Syrians," point to a context for the poem that would place its composition shortly after the synod at Hierapolis or in the years following it before George's demise. For these reasons, in addition to those given above in the first section, it seems less likely that the poem refers to the *Ekthesis* of 638 but probably did reflect the attitudes of the patriarch and emperor who later devised and promulgated the *Ekthesis*.

George's focus on "the Syrians" who follow Severos, and his conscious use of Ephrem the Syrian to fight "the Syrians" points to an important aspect of the early controversy over energy and will and how that controversy was later remembered. George's reference to "the Syrians" reminds us specifically of the conventional claim, whose earliest source is the homily *Sermo adversus monotheletas* of Anastasios of Sinai, that Sergios of Constantinople made a reply to a request from Heraclius for clarification about the claims of the anti-Chalcedonian patriarch Athanasios and confessed "one natural energy," thus inaugurating Monoenergism, *because* he was a Syrian of Jacobite (i.e., Syrian anti-Chalcedonian) ancestry.[31]

This claim, repeated in Theophanes and subsequently in most modern references to Sergios, makes for a striking contrast with the specific hostility toward Syrian Monophysites in *Contra Severum*, which is after all a poem authored by Sergios's own *referendarios*. On its face it seems less plausible that Sergios would approve of, or that George would write, verses designed to cast Syrian Monophysites in particular in a bad light by contrasting them unfavorably with one of the great saints of the Syrian church *if* Sergios were himself a Syrian of Jacobite ancestry. There is a sharp disagreement between the sources, then, about this claim, which forces a reconsideration of the source where the conventional claim appears.

The claim about Sergios's parentage represents Anastasios's polemical construction of Sergios—and by implication all Monoenergists and

Monotheletes—as someone who is Monophysite by background and confession, and the formulation "natural energy" suggests not so much a "compromise" with Monophysitism as a complete submission to it. This claim comes in the context of a negative depiction of Athanasios as "one clever with words and an evildoer because of his innate Syrian knavery," which appears to make the attribution of Syrianness a *topos* referring to an innate dishonesty or preference for sophistic trickery.[32] In George and Anastasios there appears to be a close association between being Syrian and being a Monophysite heretic, except that George leaves open the possibility that there have been orthodox Syrians in the past, such as Ephrem, and might possibly be again. Anastasios's portrayal of Syrian identity is essentially entirely negative.

However, even in *Contra Severum* George seems to make Ephrem to be an exception to the general rule about Syrians, thus reinforcing the general categorization of this group as heretical and Monophysite. That suggests a counterintuitive elite hostility toward the Syrian Monophysite population in the last decade of Byzantine rule in Syria that particularly weakens the claim that Heraclius's *Ekthesis* was aimed at shoring up imperial frontiers through ecclesiastical reunion. The presentation of Syrians in imperial panegyric and the theological positions embodied in both *Ekthesis* and *Contra Severum* reflect an official mentality that seems adversarial and combative toward the majority of the Syrian population in the waning years of Byzantine control. Through polemical panegyrics and official edicts, the Byzantine imperial and ecclesiastical elite declared themselves to be against the beliefs of the majority of Syrians in the period between reestablishing Byzantine authority in the provinces of the region and losing the entire territory to the advance of Islam. *Contra Severum* conveys an attitude both triumphalist and uncompromising, and that same attitude finds an echo in the *Ekthesis* and its official adoption of Chalcedonian Monotheletism as the doctrine of the empire.

NOTES

1. M. Whitby, "Defender of the Cross: George of Pisidia on the Emperor Heraclius and His Deputies," in *The Propaganda of Power: The Role of Panegyric in Late Antiquity*, edited by Mary Whitby (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1998).

2. L. S. B. MacCoull, "George of Pisidia, *Against Severus*: In Praise of Heraclius," in *The Future of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance: Problems, Trends and Opportunities for Research*, edited by R. Dahood, 69–79 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1998).

3. According to MacCoull, the latter date of 638 has the intriguing possibility of being timed to coincide with the centenary of Severos's death. However, I am of the opinion that timing the poem for the centenary of his death, if correct, would be like the timing of the *Ekthesis* itself and not be designed as a "compromise attempt," as

MacCoull describes it, but as a pointed denunciation of the theologian on the hundredth anniversary of his death.

4. George of Pisidia, *Carmi*, ed. Luigi Tartaglia (Torino: Unione Tipografico-Editrice Torinese, 1998). *Contra Severum*, line 330–35.

5. *Contra Severum*, line 202.

6. Ibid., line 289.

7. W. Kaegi, "A Misunderstood Place-Name in a Poem of George of Pisidia," *Byzantinische Forschungen* 26 (2002): 229.

8. *Contra Severum*, line 69–78.

9. Ibid., line 605, 663.

10. MacCoull, "George of Pisidia," 69.

11. Whitby, "Defender of the Cross," 247–48.

12. MacCoull, "George of Pisidia," 78.

13. *Contra Severum*, line 677.

14. MacCoull, "George of Pisidia," 76–78.

15. Ibid., 78.

16. Ibid.

17. Ibid., 77.

18. *Contra Severum*, lines 624–36.

19. Comparisons of emperors to Moses extend back to the earliest panegyrics of Constantine I. See Dagron, *Emperor and Priest: The Imperial Office in Byzantium* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003). Of Constantine I as Moses, Dagron writes, "At the battle of Milvian Bridge, Constantine had been Moses leading a new chosen people across the Red Sea; victorious or enthroned, he was David" (98).

20. *Contra Severum*, line 95.

21. *Taxis* is the Byzantine ideal of hierarchical status and order in which everyone and everything fulfills the appropriate role.

22. *Stasis* in this context is the Byzantine ideal of stability, permanence, and lack of change.

23. *Contra Severum*, lines 1–13.

24. Ibid., lines 34–50.

25. J. Meyendorff. *Imperial Unity and Christian Divisions: The Church, 450–680 A.D.* Crestwood, NY: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1989: 340.

26. *Contra Severum*, lines 112–25.

27. Ibid., line 67.

28. Ibid., 79–89.

29. Ibid., line 591.

30. Ibid., lines 706–18.

31. Anastasios Sinaita, *Sermones Duo In Constitutionem Hominis Secundum Imaginem Dei Necnon Opuscula Adversus Monotheletas*, ed. K. H. Uthemann. *Corpus Christianorum*: Series Graeca 12 (Brepols-Turnhout: Leuven University Press, 1985), 12, 3, 1.44–48.

32. Anastasios Sinaita, *CCSG* 12, 3, 1.18–24.

Chapter 10

Seminaries, Cults, and Militia in Byzantine Heresiologies

A Genealogy of the Labeling of "Paulicians"[1]

Hisatsugu Kusabu

Walter Kaegi spoke clearly, wrote simply, and argued straight. From the first time I saw him at a cafe near the Sorbonne in 2001, I—an international student from Japan with poor English listening competence—was impressed by his English. I could understand his English more clearly than that of anyone else. At the Paris Byzantine Congress, as a prospective student from Japan, I asked him at the first talk about my anticipated first year at Chicago. Since then, I believe I have remembered all of his words, and I am glad to still recall them. This contribution is not only a token of my gratitude but also an illustration of the method and approach to the historical problems he taught.

The history of heresy relates not only to the history of Christian thought but also to medieval practices in labeling outsiders. In many cases, heretics, both ancient and medieval, called themselves Christians without ever accepting the accusation of heterodoxy. However, their internal documents did not survive, but those of their opposition and accusers did. Historians have thus been required to research historical heresy and heretics primarily by referring to and depending almost entirely upon the names of the heresies, but these names often present a distorted picture as well. Specialist theologians and ordinary intellectuals have controlled the collection of names of heresies not only as a monument of church triumph over heterodoxy but also for purposes of political and institutional governance in their administrations. Conversely, some of the heretics' self-styled names—such as the *Boni homines* of the Cathars, the *Christopolitai* of the Phundagiagiten-Bogomils, and the Bosnians' *krstjani*—did not hint that the beliefs were considered heretical.[2] Though these beliefs may have appeared to be antinomian, marginal, and revolutionary, only the Orthodox authorities were responsible for deciding that they were heretical or schismatic. Heresy names have been the exclusive index for studying heretics, but full reliance on them as a source of historical facts is questionable.[3] Thus, it is critical to attempt investigations of historical heresy and heretics without being misled by previous biased labels and with an understanding of the practice of labeling.

According to Peter of Sicily (ca. 870), the Paulicians called themselves "Christians" and their opponent Orthodox persecutors "Romans."[4] However, some of the members might also have been Romans (Byzantines), Armenians, Greeks, and so on. Not a few leading members of the sect came from a Roman background and had their origins in the Orthodox faith. Even though they fell away from their loyalty to the Constantinopolitan Patriarchate, they were confident in confessing their Christian faith. Nevertheless, Byzantine authors expended much ink showing the existence of a relationship between the Paulicians and Manichaeism. At the same time, however, Peter of Sicily admitted a difference between the Paulicians and the Manichaeans, arguing that the Paulicians invented and added contemporary infamies and fallacies to the original Manichaeism.[5] It is typical of heresiology to control the narrative by arbitrarily connecting the name of an older heresy with a new one. According to Euthymios Zigabenos (ca. 1115), for example, Bogomilism was a part of Massalianism; but in actuality, the sect members invented it themselves, thus deserving their own new name for this heresy, the Bogomils.[6] However, church heresiologists listed the names of heresies and matched them up with their aliases, developing heresiological equations using each of those titles. When heresiologists explained the Massalians, for instance, they usually listed the aliases: the Euchitai, Marcionistai, Enthousiastai, the Bogomils, and later even the Hesychasts. A frequent expression "the Manichaeans, now called the Paulicians" was confirmation for their readers of their heresiological view of the sect.

Byzantine authors and modern historians have called the Paulicians the Iconoclasts or the new Manichaeans.[7] The purpose of this chapter is not to investigate whether Paulicianism was Manichaeïsm or not, nor does it claim that Paulicianism is any other type of heresy; rather, it reinterprets the opponents' view of the Paulicians, focusing on an underinvestigated portion of Paulician history after the fall of Tephrike in 872, from the tenth through the twelfth centuries.[8] The labeling imposed on the Paulicians was not simple in meaning; rather, it is significant for understanding the Byzantine ways of seeing the "other."

PAULICIAN PROBLEMS

Thus far, the Paulicians and their thought have received the most attention. Milan Loos and Nina G. Garsoïan argued that source problems have plagued

Paulician studies, which Paul Lemerle and his team answered with a monumental edition of related sources in Greek.[9] Using Armenian sources intensively, including the *Key of Truth*, Garsoïan commented negatively on the Greek sources, instead emphasizing Armenian sources that hinted at the presence of the Adoptionism heresy in the Paulicians.[10] She expressed skepticism concerning Peter of Sicily, who did not even know about Samosata in Syria.[11] Lemerle and others criticized Garsoïan's theses with regard to both the source criticisms and Paulician Adoptionism.[12] Garsoïan's theses notwithstanding, she shed light on the Paulician problem in the Armenian context with the Tondrakian movements, as well as, more significantly, its heresiological issues.[13] Garsoïan brought to light the critical views of the source authors and their heresiological causes, which mirrored the contemporary Byzantine political context. Since then, historians have focused on the Paulicians after the fall of imperial domination in the Balkans and in Asia Minor. They have investigated Paulician locations under Ottoman rule, and, attracted by Balkan Neo-Manichaeism, they have also examined medieval sects in Anatolia, Bulgaria, Macedonia, and Bosnia.[14]

Since Averil Cameron correctly argued that the heresiologies should also be well investigated in medieval rhetoric, historians have begun to work on critical analyses of the heresiologies and heresy titles.[15] In terms of the Paulicians, however, the discussion has centered primarily on the earlier Paulicians in Asia Minor until the fall of Tephrike in 872, thus missing the issues from the tenth to twelfth century, which are the focus of this chapter. Historians have mostly examined Paulician mobility and the locality of its thought, covering the border areas rather than east Anatolia where the Paulicians flourished. In the eighth and ninth centuries, Paulician cohorts were moving from town to town and area to area in the eastern half of Anatolia, also reaching the Balkans, the Black Sea, and the Caucasus.[16] Emperors often forced transfers of the population on minorities and dissenting groups, including the Paulicians.[17] According to Theophanes, writing in 754/755, "[t]he emperor Constantine [the Fifth] transferred to Thrace the Syrians and Armenians whom he had brought from Theodosioupolis and Melitene and, through them, the heresy of the Paulicians spread about."[18] Anna Komnena also mentions that when Emperor John I Tzimiskes (969–976) forced a mass transportation of the Manichaeans—that is, the Paulicians—into the northern border area around Philippopolis, the Paulicians survived and flourished.[19]

Remarkably, the names "Paulicians" and "Manichaeans" rarely appear in the actual reports after the Komnenian era (1081–1180); even the idea of equating the Paulicians with the Manichaeans almost disappeared. It is difficult to think that the real Paulicians disappeared all of a sudden.[20] In the Komnenian era, the reports of heretics increased almost simultaneously in the East and the West. New names of heresies appeared, and Byzantine intellectuals were required to pay attention to their activities: the Euchitai or the Massalians in Tyana, the Bogomils and the Phundagiagiten in Constantinople by 1099, the same in Kappadocia in the 1140s, and the "Cathars" at Cologne in 1163.[21] Nevertheless, any mention of the Paulicians in action by Byzantine authors thereafter is almost entirely missing. Only the Paulicians' aliases, "Publican" and "Popelican," are mentioned, and these appear exclusively in Western writing. Writing in 1205, Villehardouin introduced Philippopolis ("Phinepople"), today's Plovdiv, where he noted that the majority of the people were "Popelican."[22] "Publican" was a moniker known only among Western European authors, including those in England.[23] Historians also seem to have scarcely mentioned the Byzantine Paulicians, apparently regarding the later Paulician episodes and related heresiology after the fall of Tephrike as minor sequels and not worthy of investigation. However, the issues of post-Tephrike Paulicians reveal the Orthodox view of the Paulicians more clearly than during the sect's heyday.

HERESIOLOGY

For specialist theologians, the names of heresies and references to them were generally well documented in the genre tradition of polemics or heresiologies. Observing canonical and civil laws,[24] intellectuals paid attention to the individual names of heresies ("propria denominatio, idia presegoria").[25] There were lists and studies of heresy and heresiologies in general, composed from the second to the third centuries.[26] Epiphanios's monumental work, *Panarion*,[27] and more precisely his *Anakephalaiosis*, continued to be consulted over time. In the centuries following Epiphanios, the *De Haeresibus* genre flourished: the list of Augustine,[28] Theodoretos of Cyrrhus (393–458/466),[29] Timotheos of Constantinople (seventh century),[30] Patriarch Germanos,[31] and John of Damascus. John of Damascus revised Epiphanios's *Anakephalaiosis* to include the contemporary *Ishmaelitai*—that is, Muslims.[32] By the fourth century, canonical lists had been established, which were then copied in succeeding generations.[33] From the eleventh century onward, court theologians and intellectuals kept updating the abjuration part of the Synodikon in order to add to the catalog of heresies. From the eleventh century on, however, the *Anakephalaiosis* style of heresiology was fully revised into the *Panoplia* style. This style employed useful pieces of text from Church Fathers that debated and refuted individual heretics.[34]

However, the labeling by ordinary intellectuals was not always exclusively a theological decision but rather a result of their private judgment. In addition, new labels for heresies did not always reflect newly appearing heretical groups. Byzantine authors emphasized that the name of the Paulicians was an alias for the Manichaeans, whereas specialist heresiologists attempted to distinguish between the two titles by noting their differences. However, intellectuals in general did not acknowledge the differences in classification.

Among theological references, the *Historia utilis et refutatio Manichaeorum vel Paulicianorum* of Peter of Sicily is an important exception, for he reported the activity of the sect's movements as well. Peter of Sicily was sent as an imperial ambassador to negotiate the exchange of prisoners.[35] Staying in Tephrike with the Paulicians during his time of service, he conversed with them and learned a lot about them. The popularity of the *Historia utilis* was remarkable among Byzantine authors and modern historians. Peter of Sicily also left three sermons, *Adversus Manichaeos, qui et Pauliciani dicuntur*, wherein he focused on topics such as refuting the two-principle theory, as well as apologetics on the Cross, the Theotokos, and the Eucharist.[36] The main purpose for publishing the *Historia utilis* was to report the actual presence of heretics and of their movements inside the empire. Peter warns the Bulgarian Bishoprics to which the Manichaean/Paulician heresy was extending.[37] His *Historia utilis* work was partially revised and used as the historical part of a more extensive refutation by Photios, *Contra Manichaeos Libri IV*.[38]

Euthymios of Peribleptos (mid-eleventh century), in his *Ekthesis*, warned of the gradual influx of the Bogomils, also known as the *Phundagiagitai*, into Constantinople.[39] For the chapter against the Paulicians in the *Dogmatic Panoply*, Euthymios Zigabenos followed the Photian sermons in Peter of Sicily's history.[40] Owing to Peter of Sicily's part, the chapter against the Paulicians is the most detailed and informative section in the *Dogmatic Panoply*. Zigabenos and such contemporaneous authors as Anna Komnena knew about the presence of Paulicians and their activities in the Byzantine *oikoumene*, as did Peter of Sicily. In these church intellectuals' view of contemporary heretics, the Paulicians appeared not only as doctrinal outsiders but also as social activists—hence attracting the local pious—in the forms of religious seminaries, a destructive cult, and cruel militancy.

SEMINARIES

Peter of Sicily reports on the activity of special schools or seminaries among the Paulicians. These were hierarchical, the *miereis* (μιερεῖς) being priests and leaders, and the *synekdemoi* (συνέκδημοι) or *notarioi* (νοτάριοι) being disciples or students of the leader.[41] Anna Komnena, for example, introduced Basil the Bogomil as a Bogomil teacher (*didaskaloi*) with his twelve disciples. They ran a hidden seminary and sent missionaries into Constantinople and other cities. In Constantinople, they attracted many in the city and held underground meetings in their houses.

The assignment of restricted readings from the Bible and a limited number of prayers in their hidden seminaries were identifying marks of the "heretics." Peter of Sicily emphasized the apocryphal account in which the Paulician leader Sergios was taught by a certain Manichaean woman who inveigled him into certain limited Scripture readings without regard for the blessing of the Orthodox authorities.[42] His predecessor leader, Constantinos-Silvanos, had received the Gospels and the *Apostles* from a captive Orthodox priest, which he assigned to his sect members to read.[43] Peter of Sicily noted the Paulicians' restricted reading of Scripture in his fifth article of the six fallacies of (the) Paulicians. They accepted only the Gospels, the Apostles, the Pauline epistles, the catholic epistles of St. James, of St. John and of St. Jude, but not of St. Peter."[44]

Seminary instructors' restriction of Scripture reading was common in the seminaries that were founded on individual cult activity. By the twelfth century, a local bishop, Eleutherios of Paphlagonia, founded a monastery where he taught the Massalian heresy (according to the Orthodox bishops' viewpoint).[45] Zigabenos, consulting the interrogation report of Basil the Bogomil, reported that Basil's school prohibited reading all Scriptures but the following, whose titles were slightly different from those of the Paulicians: Psalms, sixteen Prophets, Matthew, Mark, Luke, John, the Apostles, all of the Pauline Epistles, and the Apocalypse.[46] The Bogomils also taught a special set of prayers, emphasizing the *Pater noster* for individual followers.[47] The same point is reported in the case of the Massalians.[48]

Peter of Sicily and intellectuals who followed him were worried about the secrecy with which these teachings were diffused among the people. They warned that the Paulicians approached ordinary Christians and enticed them into ruin without revealing their true heresy. Writing in 810, Theophanes noted that Emperor Nikephoros supported the Manichaeans, which were called the "Paulicians," and the Athinganoi, which had been "called in when the patrician Bardanios rebelled against him"; the heretics, in Theophanes' view, had "subjugated" the emperor "by means of their magic."[49] This way of speaking, however, was a typical heresiologists' trope that could apply for any group under any label of heresy. The same accusation was raised in the condemnation of the Bogomils.

MANICHAEISM CULT?

From the Byzantine intellectuals' viewpoint, the Paulicians were a dangerous and destructive cult from Armenia, as Peter of Sicily and Photios argued strongly to prove the presence of Manichaeism among the Paulicians. To establish the idea of the Paulicians as an Armenian cult, the Orthodox authors elaborated on the history of the Paulicians' activities around the inland areas of Asia Minor. They also suggested that the Paulicians were originally the followers of Paul and John, the sons of Kalinike, a Manichaean woman in Samosata. Their sects dispersed into the eastern Anatolian areas, the center existing over time in Mananalis, Kibossa, Episparis, and Tephrike.[50] Probably intentionally, Peter of Sicily (or his manuscript scribes) identified Kalinike's Samosata with Samosata in Armenia.[51] They kept the original Armenian name for the Paulicians, with the Armenian diminutive syllable "ik" in its spelling, and this term generated the heresy's title. Although Photios explained the sect name as a word coined from Paulo-ioannes,[52] various Armenian forms meant "the followers of a certain contemptible Paul."[53] Therefore, it was also categorically confused with the heresiological title of "Paulianistai/Paulians," which referred to the followers of the Adoptionist heresy of Paul of Samosata in Syria.

The ecumenical canons, synodal records, and heresiologists did not distinguish between treatment concerning rebaptism for the Paulicians (or Paulianists) and the Manichaeans. The abjuration forms for the Paulianists were equivalent to those used for pagan Gentiles for baptism and reception into the Orthodox Church, as well as for the Eunomians, the Montanists (who are called Phrygians), and the Sabellians.[54] The author of *The Life of Saint Basil the Younger* did not even observe the difference in the spelling of the two names in his quotations.[55] Canon XCV from the Quinisext Council clearly distinguished the Paulianists from the Manichaeans.[56] However, as Peter of Sicily confirms, the Manichaeans were exclusively banned from capital punishment according to the codification of the Ecloga.[57]

Nina Garsoïan, finally, indicates that using the label "Manichaeans" over "Paulicians" was a legal and political device intended to eliminate the iconoclasts or heretics opposed to the Orthodox Church.[58] Barnard was also skeptical concerning the doctrinal relationship between the Paulicians and the iconoclasts, concluding that "Paulicianism and Iconoclasm seem to me distinct separate movements which developed in different ways."[59]

It is doubtful that the Byzantine authors recognized the rise of medieval Manichees. Modern historians have emphasized the birth of popular mystics and their dualist heresy, which covered a geographically wide number of relevant heretics, such as the Paulicians in Asia Minor, the Bogomils in Bulgaria and Byzantium, the Patarenes in Milan, and the Waldenses in Lyon. However, Peter of Sicily and other Byzantine intellectuals seemed to use the term of the Manichaeans quite vaguely in order to accuse Paulicians of being a dangerous and heterodox cult. In the *Historia utilis*, Peter of Sicily introduced six identification markers in the Paulician Cult: that they confess two principles, evil and good; the glorious, ever-virgin mother of God is discounted; they refuse to accept the divine and awe-inspiring mystery of the body and blood of the Lord; they do not accept the image, power, and operation of the precious, life-giving cross, but insult it in a thousand ways; they do not accept any book of the Old Testament . . . they accept only the four holy Gospels, and so on. Finally, they reject the hierarchy of the Churches.[60] These fallacies were also common in the Gnostics, Marcionists, Massalians, and even the newly appeared Bogomils. Orthodox authors introduced the Manichaean disciples from Persia and Egypt into their history, who taught Manichaeism to the heresiarch of the Paulicians, for the Paulicians were accused of being critical against the worship of the Cross and of Images.[61] John of Ojun, who composed the individual treatise against the Paulicians, did not call them Manichees, though he used the Manichaean name for the Phantasticos and other Christological heresies.

The actual religious position of the Paulician "heretical" cult was unknown to Orthodox intellectuals, and the Paulicians themselves were convinced that they were "Christians." Although they seemed supportive of the iconoclast emperors, they never made their position clear. When Gegnesios-Timothy was interrogated by Patriarch Germanos, Gegnesios neither hinted at Manichaeism nor leveled any iconoclastic criticism against the imperial church under the accusation of negation of the Orthodox Church, the Cross, the Theotokos, and the Mysteries. Gegnesios argued simply that Christians pay respect to those items because of Christ, not through a worldly institution. Gegnesios declared that the Paulician community was correctly celebrating worship while maintaining their own ideas, which was "heretical" for Peter of Sicily,[62] who criticized their acts of worship as simple disguise. Peter accuses the Paulicians of distorting their true faith in order to avoid official condemnation.

In the twelfth century, specialist Euthymios Zigabenos sorted out the confusion among heresy titles when he compiled the encyclopedia of heresy. Modern historians tend to suppose that Zigabenos regarded the Paulician, Massalian, and Bogomil heresies as all rooted in dualism. However, though he admits the similarity in thought among these heresies, his use of the term "Manichaeism" is limited to the school of Persian Mani and his followers in the individual chapter against the Manichaeans.[63] In addition, there are common features in the composition of the chapters against the Paulicians, the Massalians, and the Bogomils. Zigabenos used texts from the Church Fathers, combined with his own intensive editing. Each of the three chapters begins with an etymology of the sect name and then provides its general history from its origin, its activities, and its individual theological fallacies with refutation. Even though his principle of organization was the Church Fathers, Zigabenos also copied the works of Photios for the chapter against the Paulicians, meticulously reorganizing the paragraphs.[64]

When Zigabenos recognized the Paulicians had points in common with another heresy, he carefully cross-referenced to the appropriate chapter.[65] He composed a separate chapter on the Cross, Holy Baptism, and the Eucharist ("De cruce, de sancto baptism et de eucharistiae mysterio") as well, using the works of John of Damascus, Basil, Gregory of Nyssa, and Gregory the Theologian. He placed this chapter between the two chapters against the Paulicians and the Massalians. Rather than being polemical, this chapter is a positive theological florilegium constituting a general apologetic of the Cross, Baptism, and the Eucharist so that it could apply as widely as possible to refute the variety of heretics that reject them. Zigabenos warned against the presence of any sort of heretics that rejected these holy objects, but especially against the advance of Manichaeism.

Anna Komnena, who consulted the works of Zigabenos when she compiled the *Alexiad*, seemed to take a different view. Zigabenos presented the Bogomils as "a part of Massalianism" not as a mixture of Manichaeism and Massalianism.[66] Nevertheless, Anna seems to equate the Paulicians and the Manichees.

> One might say that the impiety of the Manichaeans, which we have also referred to as the Paulician heresy, was united with the blasphemy of the Massalians. The heresy concerned the dogma of the Bogomils, which was an amalgam of those of the Manichaeans and the Massalians.[67]

In a report on Philippopolis, according to Anna Komnena, the city was taken by "the Manichaeans known as Paulicians" and "the Bogomils."[68] In this part, she highlights the history of the Balkan Paulicians, who were transported from Asia Minor by John I Tzimiskes. She attempts to impress upon the reader that she knew about the Paulicians of Asia Minor. She does not miss the co-presence of the ordinary Armenians with the Paulicians. Knowing that the Bogomils were of Bulgarian origin, she categorizes the variety of heresy titles according to the place of their origin and ethnicity.

In condemning Basil the Bogomil and his follower sect, Byzantine authors retained the Bulgarian-esque name *Bogmiloi*. As Zigabenos shows, the term means "the seeker of God's mercy," but they never translated it into the Greek term of *theophiloi*, nor did they translate *Pater Noster*, and so on. Though there is no decisive evidence, it is probable that Zigabenos and Anna Komnena categorized the three heresies according to their ethnic origins; in reviewing the names, the Pauli-"ki"-ans seems to sound Armenian, the "Bogmils" Bulgarian, and the "Massalian" Syriac.[69] However, probably in order to refute the cults of heretics in doctrinal controversies, specialist heresiologists and ordinary church intellectuals seemed to use a different nomenclature or adhere to a different understanding of the heresy titles.

MILITIA

Byzantine authorities kept an eye on the cult members of the Paulicians as unauthorized forces, local raiders, or *militia*.[70] The Paulicians, in return, called the Byzantines the "Romans," by which they meant the ecumenical authority and its force as represented by the imperial *themata* and dioceses of the Constantinopolitan Patriarchate. Al-Marwazi listed the Melkitai, the Jacobites, and the Paulicians as the three major sects among the Romans. The "Romans" in the Paulician context had almost the same meaning as "*melkitai*" for al-Marwazi and other Muslim historians.[71]

Not a few emperors intentionally took advantage of the Paulician force. Byzantine authors frequently mention the *Tagma Manichaion*, showing that they regarded the Paulician army as equivalent to those of Saracen confederates or Arabs, Scyths, Varangians, and Latins. As a religious and military sect, they were at once enemy and ally of the imperial authority, sometimes appearing as mercenaries and otherwise as terrible robbers and rebels. As an enemy, the *Tagma* of the Paulicians were described as mighty and tough soldiers. The Roman *themata*, as their rivals, were proud of their victory over the Manichaean tagma.[72] As an ally, they offered considerable military force. To solicit reinforcement against the Norman army, Alexios Komnenos endeavored to attract Paulician soldiers with gold and gifts. Eventually, they all escaped from the field before the battle.[73] The Paulicians also served at court. Traulos was a greatly talented and probably faithful servant of the imperial office whom Alexios Komnenos admitted to service. However, he identified with his Paulician origins, and the rebellion of Traulos was caused because he became very angry, deciding to leave his assigned imperial office owing to persecution of his family members in the "heretical" faith.[74]

Anna Komnena was highly skeptical of their faithfulness to the emperor, much like her report on the Pechenegs: both were cruel and savage, greedy for gifts and booty, and treacherous and shameless.[75] In 1114, when Alexios Komnenos, lingering for a while in Philippopolis, decided to convert the Paulicians and the Bogomils among the citizens to the true faith, Anna Komnena celebrated his double triumphs, one being over the Paulicians and the other over the Pechenegs. The majority of Paulicians in Philippopolis received baptism for conversion, following Kouleon, one of their leaders. He arrested two Paulician leaders, Kousinos and Pholos. He had brought them to Constantinople and confined them in the Elephantine prison. Alexios created a ghetto city outside Philippopolis, probably on the river Euros (Maritsa), named Alexioupolis, to which he transferred the ex-Paulician population.[76] The exact location of the ghetto city is unknown, as is the imperial plan for segregating the converts into a ghetto city, owing to the lack of sources. The emperor forced the ex-Paulician mass to live separately from the rest of the citizens, giving them the warrant of safety with a chrysobull. We do not know the exact reason why he did this, but it is probable that he considered the Paulicians a cult that could also form the basis for a military force that could attract additional recruits and incite the ordinary people against the empire.

After the Komnenians, the Byzantine imperial authorities were no longer concerned about the military threat of the Paulicians. The advancement of foreign forces became much more critical to the empire, and the Paulicians disappeared from the historical narratives when Asia Minor, Thrace, and Macedonia were taken by the Bulgarians, the Saracens, and the Latins. Byzantine intellectuals intentionally stopped using "Paulicians" in their writings as the name of a heresy, even though the dualist heretics survived ubiquitously, because the Paulicians were no longer a mighty militant nemesis.

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, Byzantine heresiology relating to the Paulician problems mirrored the contemporary views of various outsiders within the *oikoumene*. The nomenclature of heresy titles reveals that the Byzantine view of the Paulician movement was related not only to doctrinal issues but also to a form of ruling and social governance.

Orthodox intellectuals' views of heretics were essentially biased and misleading, and their authenticity remains uncertain. However, they hint at the social idea of a people of foreign ethnicity in the *oikoumene* who have been labeled heretics. Once such people have been categorized into the nomenclature of heresy titles, historians tend to miss the gray areas between the condemned and the accepted. The people, probably simple Christians, could be seen not only as a heretical group but also as seminarians, members of a cult, and a militia—all constituents of the Byzantine *oikoumene*.[77]

For modern historians, it would be hasty to rephrase the equation Manichaeans = Paulicians without considering medieval intellectuals' decisions at court or the anti-heresy documents. Having their own labeling system, these intellectuals were not always keen to define and use the heresy titles.

The terms "Neo-Manichaeans" and "medieval dualist heresy" have received enough attention from historians to make them representative of medieval heresies. However, these too are "modern" heresy labels assigned by historians, which have also been arbitrarily used in our historiographies. The dualistic "trend" itself in the medieval faiths that historians have investigated cannot be questioned, for the spread of the movement in theory is confirmed and attested in documents. However, it must be carefully investigated focusing on the medieval nomenclature of heresy titles in its theological or ideological aspects. The heresiological labeling did not define the cult itself exclusively, but it may have mirrored certain religio-political aspects.

The arguments in this chapter constitute a preliminary hypothesis for further investigation into the Paulicians. The name was not used exclusively to refer to dualist ideologues but for representing the Byzantine view of "heretics." It is safe to say that for contemporary Byzantines, the Paulicians were more important as a militant faction or local militia than as the ancestors of the medieval Manichaean dualists.

NOTES

1. This research was partially supported by JSPS Research Grant 16K03118.

2. C. Taylor, "'Good Men' in the Languedoc: An Alternative to 'Cathars'?" *Cathars in Question*, edited by A. Sennis, 242–56 (York Medieval Press, 2016); for *Christopolitai*, G. Ficker, *Die Phundagiagiten* (Leipzig: J. A. Barth, 1908), 192; for *Krstjani*, J. V. A. Fine, *The Bosnian Church* (London: The Bosnian Institute, 2007 [=1975]), 90–91.

3. J. K. Deane, *A History of Medieval Heresy and Inquisition* (New York: Rowan & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2011), 28–30.

4. P. Lemerle et al., "Les sources grecques pour l'histoire des Pauliciens d'Asie Mineure: Texte critique et Traduction," *Travaux et Mémoires* (=*TM*) 4 (1970): 21.

5. Peter of Sicily, "Les sources grecques," *TM* 4 (1970): 9, lines 1–2.

6. J.-P. Migne, ed., *Patrologia Graeca* 130 (Paris, 1864), 1289; S. Patri, "Le nom de Bogomilŭ," *Slavica occitania* 16 (2003): 17–25; H. Kusabu, *Comnenian Orthodoxy and Byzantine Heresiology in the Twelfth Century: A Study of the Panoplia Dogmatica of Euthymios Zigabenos*, unpublished PhD dissertation (University of Chicago, 2013), 196.

7. For the Paulicians and iconoclasts, see C. Ludwig, "The Paulicians and Ninth-Century Byzantine Thought," in *Byzantium in the Ninth Century: Dead or Alive?*, 75–82 (Aldershot: Ashgate 1998); J. Gouillard, "L'hérésie dans l'empire byzantine des origins au XIIe siècle," *TM* 1 (1965): 307ff.; J. Wickert, *Die Panoplia Dogmatica des Euthymios Zigabenos* (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2010 [= Oriens Christianus 8 (1908]), 372–78.

As for the neo-Manichaeans concept, see *Christian Dualist Heresies in the Byzantine World c. 650–c.1405*, trans. and annotated by J. Hamilton and B. Hamilton, *Christian Dualist Heresies* (New York: Manchester University Press, 1998), 57–114; St. Runciman, *The Medieval Manichee: A Study of the Christian Dualist Heresy*, revised edn (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982 [=1947]), 26–62; D. Obolensky, *The Bogomils: A Study in Baklan Neo-Manichaeism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1948), 28–58; M. Loos, *Dualist Hersey in the Middle Ages* (Prague, 1974), 32–40.

8. P. Lemerle, "L'histoire des pauliciens d'asie mineure d'après les sources grecques," *TM* 5 (1973): 1–144.

9. M. Loos, "Deux contributions à l'histoire des Pauliciens. 1. A propos des sources grecques reflétant des Pauliciens," *Byzantinoslavica* XVII.1 (1956): 19–57; N. G. Garsoïan, *The Paulician Heresy* (The Hague: Mouton & Co., 1967), 27–79.

10. Garsoïan, *The Paulician Heresy*, 108–11; C. F. Conybeare, ed., *The Key of Truth: A Manual of the Paulician Church in Armenia* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1898).

11. N. G. Garsoïan, "Byzantine Heresy: A Reinterpretation," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 25 (1972): 94f.; see also A. Bryer, "Excursus on Mananalis, Samosata of Armenia and Paulician Geography," in *Iconoclasm*, edited by A. Bryer and J. Herrin, 83–84 (Birmingham: Center for Byzantine Studies, 1977).

12. See reviews of P. Lemerle, "L'histoire," *TM* 5 (1973): 12–15; K. Juzbasjan, *Revue des études arméniennes*. Nouvelle série 6 (1969): 421–26; and R. J. Hoffmann, "The Paulician Heresy: A Reappraisal," *The Patristic and Byzantine Review* 2 (1983): 251–63.

13. V. Nersessian, *The Tondrakian Movement* (London: Kahn & Averill, 1987), 47–54.

14. R. Mihajlovski, "Bogomils on Via Egnatia and in the Valley of Pelagonia: The Geography of a Dualist Belief," *Byzantinoslavica* 72.1–2 (2014): 152–70; M. Yovkov, *The Pavlikians and the Pavlikian Towns and Villages on the Bulgarian Lands in the 15th–18th C.* (Sofia: Universitetsko izd-vo "Sv. Kliment Okhridski," 1991), 190–92 (English Summary); K. Mutafova, "The Paulicians- 'Different' for All," *Études balkaniques* 4 (1993): 29–37.

15. A. Cameron, "How to Read Heresiology," *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 33.3 (2003): 471–92.

16. Y. Stoyanov, "The Interchange between Religious Heterodoxies in the Balkans and Caucasus: The Case of the Paulician," in *The Balkan and Caucasus: Parallel Processes on the Opposite Sides of the Black Sea*, edited by I. Biliarsky et al., 107–15 (useful bibliography 113–15) (New Castle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2012).

17. P. Charanis, "The Transfer of Population as a Policy in the Byzantine Empire," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* III-2 (1960–1961): 140–54.

18. *The Chronicle of Theophanes Confessor, Byzantine and Near Eastern History AD 284–813,* trans. C. Mango and R. Scott (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), 593.

19. As for Alexios's expedition to Philippopolis and debate with Manichaeans there, see the *Alexiad* XIV-8 and 9: Anna Komnene, *The Alexad*, trans. E. R. A. Sewter and P. Frankopan (London: Penguin Classics, 2009), 423–29. Even after the fall of Thephrike, the Paulicians were supposed to survive in the Asia Minor. R. H. Greenfield translated, *The Life of Lazaros of Mt. Galesion: An Eleventh-Century Pillar Saint*, (Washington DC: Dumbarton Oaks, 2000), 205.

20. Kusabu, *Comnenian Orthodoxy*, 153–60.

21. M. Lambert, *Medieval Heresy: Popular Movements from Bogomil to Hus*, 1st edn (New York: Holmes & Meier Publishers), 357–65. There is a useful table on the early medieval heretics only in the first edition.

22. Hamilton and Hamilton, *Christian Dualist Heresies*, 259–60.

23. G. Vasilev, *Heresy and the English Reformation: Bogomi-Cathar Influence on Wycliffe, Langland, Tyndale and Milton* (London: McFarland, 2008), 38–39.

24. First Council of Constantinople 381, Canon 1. Tanner, *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils* (Washington DC: Georgetown University Press), I, 31; H. Perceval, *The Seven Ecumenical Councils* (Grand Rapids, MI: WM. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company**,** 1900), 172.

25. *Codex Justinianus* I-V-12 praefatio. The legislation and the list are *Codex Theodosianus* Ch. XVI-5, esp. 5, 65 (May 30, 428) and *Codex Justinianus* I-V-5, Corpus Iuris Civilis, vol. 2 Codex Iustinianus, edited by P. Krueger (Darmstadt: Weidmann), 51; *Le Code Théodosien Livre XVI*, ed. É. Magnou-Nortier (Paris, 2002), 192–299; for the glossaries of the titles, see C. Pharr, *The Theodosian Code and Novels and the Sirmondian Constitutions* (Union NJ: The Lawbook Exchange, Ltd, 2001 [=1952]), 582–84.

26. A. Le Boulluec, *La notion d'hérésie dans la littérature grecque, IIe-IIIe siècles*, 2 vols (Paris: Études Augustiniennes, 1985).

27. Against Paul the Samosatian (sec. 65) and Manichaeans (sec. 66), see *The Panarion of Epiphanius of Salamis*, *Books II and III; De Fide*, trans. F. Williams (Leiden: Brill, 2013), esp. 216–316.

28. Cap. 44, Pauliani, and Cap. 46, Manichaei, in L. G. Müller, *The De Haeresibus of Saint Augustine: A Translation with an Introduction and Commentary* (Washington DC: The Catholic University of America Press, 1956), 84–97.

29. Migne, *Patrologia Graeca* 83, 340.

30. Ibid., 86–81, 10–74.

31. Ibid., 98, 39–90.

32. D. J. Sahas, *John of Damascus on Islam: The "Heresy of the Ishmaelites"* (Leiden: Brill, 1972), 131–41.

33. The list of CJ. I-V-5 was repeatedly uploaded in Byzantine legal codifications by *Epanagoge Aucta* (AD 975) LIII–12, and *Ecloga ad Prochiron Mutata*, 36–5. J. Zepi and P. Zepi, *Jus Graecoromanum*, vols 6 (Athen: Scientia Aalen, 1962), 214 and 297.

34. N. Miladinova, *Panoplia Dogmatike by Euthymios Zygadenos* (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 1–29; A. Bucossi, "The Sacred Arsenal by Andronikos Kamateros, a Forgotten Treasure," *Quaderni di Νέα Ῥωμή* 3 (2009): 33–50.

35. Peter of Sicily, "Les sources grecques," 9, lines 14–15.

36. Migne, *Patrologia Graeca* 104, 1305–50.

37. Patriarch Theophylaktos (933–956) responded to the Tsar Petar of Bulgaria (927–969) on the presence of newly appeared heresy in Bulgaria, considering it of the Paulicians probably with reference to the Peter of Sicily and Photios. *Fontes Graeci Historiae Bulgaricae,* V (1959), Sofia: Българска академия на науките (Bulgarian Academy of Science), 183–89. He mentions the heresy as the mixture of impious Manichaeism and *Paulianism* (185); Hamilton and Hamilton, *Christian Dualist Heresies*, 99.

38. Migne, *Patrologia Graeca* 102, 15–264.

39. Ficker, *Die Phundagiagiten*, 3; Hamilton and Hamilton, *Christian Dualist Heresies*, 143.

40. Chapter against the Paulicians in the *Dogmatic Panoply*, in Migne, *Patrologia Graeca* 130, 1189–248.

41. Peter of Sicily, “Les sources grecques,” 67; Lemerle, “L’histoire,” 123.

42. Peter of Sicily, “Les sources grecques,” 53–59; Hamilton and Hamilton, *Christian Dualist Heresies*, 83–86; for Bogomil commentary on Matthew, see J. Hamilton, “The Bogomil Commentary on St Matthew’s Gospel,” *Byzantion* 75 (2005): 171–98.

43. Peter of Sicily, “*Les sources grecques*”, 41, lines 18–22.

44. Peter of Sicily, “*Les sources grecques*”, 21, lines 30–35.

45. On the Eleutherios of Paphlagonia, see J. Gouillard, “Quatre procès de mystiques à Byzance (vers 960–1143) inspiration et autorité,” *Revue des études byzantines* 36 (1973): 45–53.

46. Migne, *Patrologia Graeca* 130, 1289; Hamilton and Hamilton, *Christian Dualist Heresies*, 182.

47. Migne, *Patrologia Graeca* 130, 1313; Hamilton and Hamilton, *Christian Dualist Heresies*, 191.

48. Migne, *Patrologia Graeca* 130, 1273.

49. *The Chronicle of Theophanes Confessor*, Oxford, 671. On the emperor Michael I Rangabe’s persecution by Thephanes, see Θ. Κ. Κορρές, “Oἱ διώξεις τῶν Παυλικιανῶν ἐπὶ Μιχαήλ Ά,” *Βυζαντινά* 10 (1980): 203–15. And for the special reaction to it by Theodore the Studite, see H. Patapios, “St Theodore the Studite and the Problem of the Paulicians,” *The Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 43.1–4 (1998): 143–54.

50. G. Huxley, “The Historical Geography of the Paulician and T’ondrakian Heresies,” in *Medieval Armenian Culture*, edited by Th. J. Samuelian and M. E. Stone, 81–95 (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1983), 81–95.

51. Peter of Sicily, “Les sources grecques,” 37; Hamilton and Hamilton, *Christian Dualist Heresies*, 75.

52. Photios, “Les sources grecques,” *TM* 4 (1970): 120–21. Zigabenos, Photios as well, argued that the name of Paulicians (παυλικιάνοι) was a “barbarian” (βαρβαρικώτερον) form of Pauloïoannai (Παυλοϊωάνναι); see Migne, *Patrologia Graeca* 130, 1189.

53. K. Yuzbashian, “Photios sur l’origine du nom ‘Pauliciens,’” *Revue des études arméniennes, Nouvelle série* 10 (1973): 185–88; “De l’origine du nom ‘Pauliciens,’” *Revue des études arméniennes, Nouvelle série* 9 (1972): 355–77; H. Bartikian, “Encore une fois sur l’origine du nom Pauliciens,” *Revue des études arméniennes, Nouvelle série* 9 (1972): 445–51.

54. The first Nice, canon XIX, Perceval, *The Seven Ecumenical Councils*, 40; Quinsext, canon XCV, Perceval, *The Seven Ecumenical Councils*, 405.

55. “Heretics, or example, Arians, Pneumatomachoi, Manichaeans, Sabellians, Paulicians, or Origenists, Evagrians, Iconoclasts, Jacobites, and Marcionites (αἱρετικοί, οἷον· Ἀρειανοί, Πνευματομάχοι, Μανιχαῖοι, Σαβελλιανοὶ καὶ Παυλικιανοί, καὶ ἐπί τισιν Ὠριγένιοι, Εὐάγριοι, Εἰκονομάχαι, Ἰακωβίται καὶ Μαρκιονισταί . . .),” in *The Life of Saint Basil the Younger*, McGrath, D. F. Sullivan, and A.-M. M. Talbot, 404–405 (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks, 2014). Cf. Germanos I (c. 634–733 or 740), “Παυλιανῖται τοῖς λεγομένοις Μανιχαίοις καὶ Ἀρειανοῖς,” *Narratio de haeresibus et synodis ad Anthimum diaconum*, Migne, *Patrologiae Graeca* 98, 48.

56. The first Nice, canon XIX, Perceval, *The Seven Ecumenical Councils*, 40; Quinsext, canon XCV, Perceval, *The Seven Ecumenical Councils*, 405.

57. Peter of Sicily, "Les sources grecques," 41; Hamilton and Hamilton, *Christian Dualist Heresies*, 77. "Οἱ μανιχαῖοι καὶ οἱ μοντανοὶ ξίφει τιμωρείσθωσαν": Ecloga, tit. 17, sec. 52 (=Ecloga Aucta, tit 17 and Ecloga Privata Aucta, tit. 17, sec. 52, in *Jus Graecoromanum*).

58. Garsoïan, *The Paulician Heresy*, 202–203.

59. L. Barnard, "The Paulicians and Iconoclasm," in Bryer and Herrin, *Iconoclasm*, 81.

60. Hamilton and Hamilton, *Christian Dualist Heresies*, 72–74.

61. Migne, *Patrologia Graeca* 130, 1308–1309.

62. Peter of Sicily, "Les sources grecques," 46–49; Hamilton and Hamilton, *Christian Dualist Heresies*, 80–81.

63. Migne, *Patrologia Graeca* 130, 305. Chapter title as follows, "Κατὰ Σίμωνος τοῦ Σαμαρέως, καὶ Μαρκίωνος τοῦ Ποντικοῦ, καὶ τοῦ Πέρσου Μάνεντος, καὶ τῶν Μανιχαίων . . ."

64. Kusabu, *Comnenian Orthodoxy*, 119–30.

65. Ibid., 112–13, 198.

66. "μέρος οὖσα τῆς [αἱρέσεως] τῶν Μασαλιανῶν," Migne, *Patrologia Graeca* 130, 1289.

67. *The Alexiad*, XV-8, 455.

68. Ibid., XIV-3, 424: "Armenians had taken over the place as had the so-called Bogomils, . . . as well as the Paulicians, an utterly godless sect of the Manichaeans (transl. by Sewter-Frankopan)."

69. Zigabenos knew that the name of Massalian was a translated word: "ἡ δὲ κλῆσις αὕτη μεταβαλλομένη εἰς τὴν Ελλάδα γλῶσσαν Εὐχιτας δηλοῖ." Migne, *Patrologia Graeca* 130, 1273.

70. As for the history of the militant stage of the Paulicians, see Lemerle, "L'histoire," 85–113.

71. V. Minorsky, "Marvazi on the Byzantines," in *Medieval Iran and Its Neighbors*, pt. VIII, 458 (London: Variorum, 1982).

72. W. E. Kaegi, Jr., *Byzantine Military Unrest, 471–843: An Interpretation* (Amsterdam: Adolf Hakkert Press, 1981), 283. Always, Kaegi has paid attention to both religious and political sides of the Byzantine system. Such a harmonious view works well when we reconsider any of Byzantine activities. Garsoïan, "Byzantine Heresy," 97–98.

73. *The Alexiad*, V-3, 133.

74. Ibid., VI-4, 158. Alexios Komnenos made Traulos one of his family servants. As for Traulos, see B. Skoulatos, *Les personnages byzantins de l'Alexiade* (Louvain: Édition Nauwelaerts, 1980), 298–99.

75. Scylitzes reported the Paulicians ally with the Pechenegs. Hamilton and Hamilton, *Christian Dualist Heresies*, 164–65.

76. "[Alexios Komnenos] built a town for them quite near Philippopolis, on the far side of the River Euros or otherwise Neokastron, a name by which it is better known . . .": *The Alexiad*, XIV-8, 429.

77. Ludwig, "The Paulicians and Ninth-Century Byzantine Thought," 34.

Chapter 11

Performing History at the Forum of Constantine

Galina Tirnanić

"This is where Constantine had his coffee every morning," said an old Albanian guide as we stood atop one of the towers on the Yedikule stretch of the Theodosian walls in Istanbul in the summer of 2000. Inside the tower he had pointed out a room in which "a prince" from an unspecified historical period had been imprisoned, and a small hole in the wall that this prince had desperately dug out with his fingers in a failed attempt to escape. He also showed me a larger room in which prisoners were tortured before they were thrown down a long chute into the sea.[1] My guide had a creative understanding of who Constantine was and when he actually lived, and was not concerned with the discrepancy between the age of the building and the period of Constantine's life. Yet, his stories of Ottoman political prisoners and the Byzantine emperor's serene morning rituals populated an empty architectural space with people and events. To the sound of his rattling keys, I imagined *his* Constantine drinking Turkish coffee from an Ottoman cup, while prisoners suffered below. Now that *place* exists in my memory of Constantinople—its occupants transgressing the boundaries of time and space. Similarly, during the long history of the Byzantine Empire, various guides wove stories of imperial power and violence into their explanations of the city's monuments.[2] Far from Constantinople, in a small classroom on the third floor of the Regenstein Library in Chicago, for decades on Wednesday nights, Walter Kaegi made Byzantine figures come alive in the imagination of generations of University of Chicago students. My class notes from the late 1990s, brimming with details about Byzantine events, are sprinkled with hints about the agenda of those who wrote the sources, whether primary or secondary. What I remember most vividly, however, are the stories of political murders and violent usurpations, Professor Kaegi's warning still echoing in my ears: "If you get invited to a Byzantine banquet, don't go!," implying that chances are one would not come out alive. This chapter takes as a point of departure the vagueness and regenerative nature of memory, as well as the particular impact that violent and bizarre events have on the way that places, spaces, buildings, and monuments are remembered in relation to history.

Focusing on the Forum of Constantine, one of the most prominent public spaces in Constantinople, I explore it as a place in whose nooks and crannies a multitude of stories of the city were stored to be remembered over the centuries by different audiences in different circumstances. The Forum's physical elements can be understood as placeholders for the "method of loci," a technique that ancient and medieval orators recommended for remembering long speeches.[3] To memorize a speech or a story, the orator is to have in his mind or before his eyes an image, or a series of images, that serve as signposts for remembering various sections of a long narrative. The images serve as "places to put things," with the idea that "things" can easily be retrieved from these places. Analyzing this rhetorical art in the Western medieval setting, Mary Carruthers shows how the images did not serve as storage devices for a passive retrieval of always identical information, but facilitated a process of active invention at each instance of retrieval.[4] In other words, the same set of so-called *images agentes* can produce infinite versions of stories depending on the activation process. Returning this metaphor of mental image-place to the physical domain, the medieval city of Constantinople could be understood as a collection of public spaces whose contents served as physical "*images agentes*" imbued with layered meanings. At the Forum of Constantine, a public space containing its own set of "*images agentes*," on any given day, depending on who is looking, remembering, inventing, and interpreting, there was a possibility of a myriad of envisioned "places." This chapter is concerned with a specific layer of the Forum, a place where the relationship between emperors and those who opposed imperial policies was constructed and reiterated during events and performances, but even more so during the active mental reinvention of events and performances.[5]

REMEMBERING AND REINVENTING CONSTANTINE

The Forum of Constantine was created by Constantine the Great in the early fourth century as a particular kind of public space—one of the most important places for the expression of imperial power in the city.[6] Filled with antique statuary brought from Athens, Rome, and other cities by Constantine and his late antique successors, the Forum emphasized the city's Roman imperial origins.[7] Among the buildings lining the Forum was a house of the Senate, where matters of government were carried out, and the Praetorion, with the attached prison, where prisoners were kept.[8]

Over the centuries, distinct layers of Constantinople's populace converged here during imperial, liturgical, and civic occasions. Emperors used the Forum as one of the main stations in the staging of triumphs, eparchs summoned citizens for important announcements here, while patriarchs incorporated it in liturgical ceremonies.[9] Here, bread was distributed to the poor; people came to buy and sell meat and other products; criminals were flogged; and, a few times per year, people could actually see the living emperor.[10] It was a combination of people, their actions, and the architectural framework that made the Forum a place at any given moment in history. But the place existed beyond that moment, and the meanings accumulated over centuries.

All that remains of the Forum today is the lower part of the porphyry column of Constantine that once stood in the center of a large circular space, surrounded by a two-story colonnade (Figure 11.1).[11] The history of Constantine's new capital began with the raising of this column and the subsequent dedication of the city on May 11, 330. The column connected a

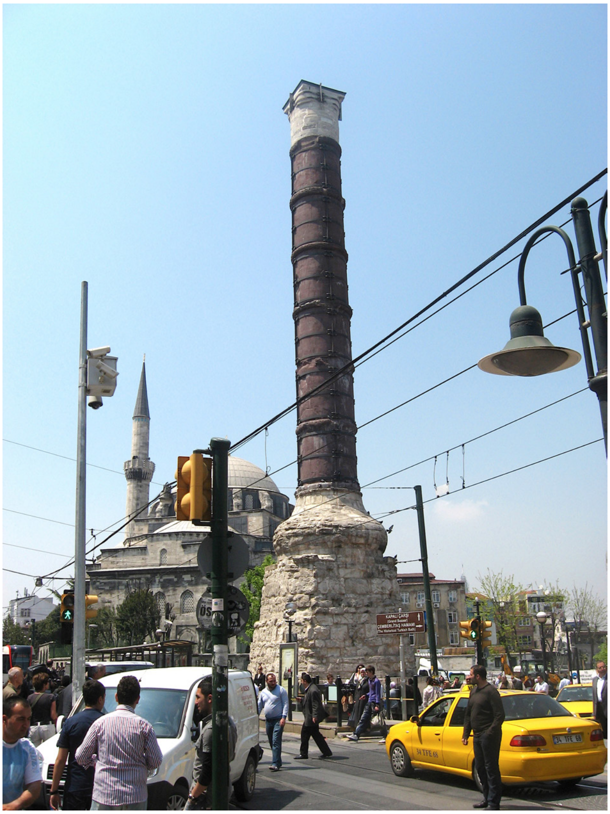

Figure 11.1 Constantine's Column, Istanbul, Turkey.

Byzantine citizen of any period to the very beginning of the city's history, and to Constantine's imperial foundation.[12] The column's purple color, reserved strictly for imperial consumption and purposes, reinforced the instrumental role of the Byzantine emperor within the fabric of the city. Originally, on top of the column stood a statue of Constantine, likely represented as a version of Apollo/Helios, with a radiating crown, an image also found on coins minted during Constantine's reign.[13] The figure was to remind the citizens and visitors that it was Constantine who founded this city and that his power was divinely sanctioned.

Social memories at the Forum were reshaped and reinforced through moments of spectacle.[14] For example, during the city's birthday celebration, the citizens were reminded of the continuity between their present time and the city's foundation.[15] These annual celebrations in the beginning retained their pagan connotations, and reminded the participants of the role of Tyche of Constantinople as the protector of the city. However, formal references to Rome's pagan past were eventually overshadowed by the version of history focusing on the Christian origins of the city.

The Mother of God and Christ himself became associated with the city's dedication, and therefore responsible for the protection of the city, an association reiterated in liturgical ceremonies.[16] Theodore Syncellus reports that an icon of Theotokos was carried around the walls and through the city in supplication of her aid against the Avars in the siege of Constantinople in 626.[17] The city also avoided sieges in 617, 647–648, and 717–718, and all four victories were still commemorated in liturgical ceremonies a few centuries later, as recorded in the tenth-century Book of Ceremonies.[18] Theotokos was credited with the protection of the city and the Akathistos hymn was used in commemorative liturgies. These ceremonies performed history as it was supposed to be remembered, replacing original performances and beliefs.

Who Constantine was and how he was remembered at the Forum changed over centuries. At some point, probably in the ninth century, a small chapel was added at the foot of the column and the cult of St. Constantine replaced the earlier pagan cult of the founder. The Book of Ceremonies lists four occasions when the Chapel of Constantine was used: Nativity of Theotokos, Easter Monday, Annunciation, and the triumph over the Saracens.[19] The emperor would mount to the top of the steps called *despotike anavasis*, to the platform of the column. Behind the emperor, a processional cross was displayed. Mango suggests the chapel was built during iconoclasm "in order to sanctify the symbolic significance of the column."[20]

The statue of Constantine toppled in 1106 during the reign of Alexios Komnenos, and the event was interpreted as an omen signaling the death of the emperor.[21] Eventually Emperor Manuel Komnenos (r. 1118–1180) equipped the column with a new capital and surmounted it with a large cross.[22] The cross by itself continued to evoke Constantine; not the pagan Constantine who fashioned himself after Apollo, but a pious Christian Constantine. The cross activated the legendary memory of Constantine's vision before the Battle of the Milvian Bridge in 312—by accepting the sign of the cross he saw in a dream while sleeping in his encampment tent, Constantine triumphed over his rival Maxentius. This military triumph over a political rival was associated with Constantine's introduction of the new official religion to the empire.

The large cross upon the central column, together with numerous other crosses in the Forum, in addition to glorifying Constantine, stood as reminders of the origins of the Christian religion and the punishment of Jesus on the cross at Golgotha. The Forum also contained other statues of Constantine and his family, including a statue of his mother Helena, who was credited with finding the True Cross during her pilgrimage to Jerusalem, and bringing the relic to Constantinople.[23]

The cross, of course, was the instrument of the punishment of Jesus, which promised salvation to all Christians at the end of time. The Forum linked a Roman emperor to a religion that was suppressed by his predecessors and based on an wrongful punishment. This connection was reiterated by legends of numerous relics buried under the porphyry column.[24] These included pieces of the two crosses of the thieves crucified alongside Jesus and the very nails from the Crucifixion—originally supposedly contained in the statue's crown and later buried below.[25] The instruments of Christ's punishment, the nails that had pierced his body and were steeped in his blood, associated the Forum with the memory of Jesus's suffering as a human. These elements collapsed the Forum with another place, imbuing it with the qualities of Jerusalem, the way that pagan statues identified it with the original Rome.

It is precisely the nails of Christ's Passion that made the porphyry column a reminder of not only the past, but also the future of the city. The Byzantine concept of time was linear: there was a beginning and there would be an end. Unlike Rome, its pagan counterpart, Constantinople could not claim to be eternal because to Christians, Christ's Second Coming, and thus the end of all earthly life, was inevitable and fast approaching. According to the Apocalypse of Andreas Salos, because of the nails contained in the crown of the statue, the last thing standing in Constantinople would be the porphyry column itself.[26] In the end, survivors would tie their boats to it to lament the demise of the city.

These apocalyptic events would be precursors to the Last Judgment, the equitable justice that every Christian believed would come at the end of history. According to the Byzantine apocalyptic tradition, in preparation for the Second Coming, the Byzantine emperor would go to Jerusalem to offer his crown and scepter to Christ, the Heavenly Emperor. He would also return the True Cross to Jerusalem, divesting Constantinople from its function as a placeholder for memories of the original Holy City.[27] In the meantime, the laws of this world were overseen by a succession of Byzantine emperors, who made sure the city was marked by imperial justice, which purported to emulate Christ's justice upon his Second Coming.

SHAPING THE MEMORY OF ARIUS

On the periphery of the Forum, in the latrines behind the Praetorion, a different kind of story kept alive the memory of a hated heretic Arius (ca. 250–336), who once opposed Constantine's policies. While future Byzantine emperors styled themselves as new Constantines, those who opposed imperial religious policies were compared to this proto-heretic, who in the memory of medieval Byzantines served as a *typos* (mold, imprint) for all future heretics.[28]

A contemporary of Constantine, Arius was an influential Alexandrian presbyter who held a subordinist view of the Holy Trinity and lent his name to the controversy that caused a major rift within the church that resulted in Constantine summoning the first ecumenical council in Nicaea in 325, where the doctrine of the Trinity became dogma.[29] Arius opposed the decision of the council and Constantine exiled him to Illyria.[30] Interestingly, not long after, Arius was recalled to Constantinople, where he succeeded in convincing the emperor in the righteousness of his views, and was subsequently rehabilitated at the Council of Tyre and Jerusalem in 335. Constantine's sons favored Arian doctrine and ironically Arians only grew in strength following the Council. Yet, Arius's rehabilitation is not the part of the story that the elements of the Forum preserved over the centuries.

The story of the death of Arius at the latrines is first recorded by his greatest enemy, Bishop Athanasius of Alexandria, in a letter he wrote two decades later to Bishop Serapion. Although he does not mention the Forum specifically, he implies that Arius met his end at a public toilet.[31] According to Anasthasius, who heard the story from the eyewitness Macarius, after Constantine recalled Arius to Constantinople from exile, Alexander, the then archbishop of Alexandria, prayed at the church of Hagia Irene for the death of the heretic, and consequently God answered his request for justice.[32] Later writers pick up on the story and add bizarre and grotesque details. In his fifth-century ecclesiastical history, Socrates specifies the location of the latrines as those at the Forum of Constantine.

> It was then Saturday, and Arius was expecting to assemble with the church on the day following: but divine retribution overtook his daring criminalities. For going out of the imperial palace, attended by a crowd of Eusebian partisans like

> guards, he paraded proudly through the midst of the city, attracting the notice of all the people. As he approached the place called Constantine's Forum, where the column of porphyry is erected, a terror arising from the remorse of conscience seized Arius, and with the terror a violent relaxation of the bowels: he therefore enquired whether there was a convenient place near, and being directed to the back of Constantine's Forum, he hastened thither. Soon after a faintness came over him, and together with the evacuations his bowels protruded, followed by a copious hemorrhage, and the descent of the smaller intestines: moreover portions of his spleen and liver were brought off in the effusion of blood, so that he almost immediately died.[33]

Once he reaches the Forum that bears the emperor's name and encounters the porphyry column, a symbol of imperial and divine justice in the city, Arius is seized with the fatal illness: while he escaped imperial punishment, Divine punishment was inevitable. The memory that the Forum of Constantine attributed to Arius thus utterly reversed his rehabilitation, and drew a parallel with Judas, whose body similarly disintegrated after he hanged himself in a field following his betrayal of Jesus: "Now this man purchased a field with the wages of iniquity; and falling headlong he burst open in the middle and all his entrails gushed out."[34] As Socrates points out, the bizarre nature of the story made it memorable and people flocked to the latrines to gawk at the infamous seat, wary of sitting upon it. Socrates adds: "The scene of this catastrophe still is shown at Constantinople, as I have said, behind the shambles in the colonnade: and by persons going by pointing the finger at the place, there is a perpetual remembrance preserved of this extraordinary kind of death."[35] The "shambles in the colonnade" served as a memory cue for remembering the shameful demise of Arius in the vicinity of the column raised by Constantine. Sozomen's account adds that a wealthy Arian attempted to suppress the custom of the people reiterating the story at the site by destroying the latrines and building a house on the spot.[36]

However, violent and repulsive memories are difficult to erase.[37] The story is alive and well in the Forum in the eighth century, when the compilers of the *Parastaseis* report it. They further report Sozomenus's version that sometime after the latrine was demolished, Emperor Theodosius allegedly set up a statue of Arius in the Forum, and the citizens continued to humiliate his memory by throwing excrement, urine, and spit at it.[38] While Theodosius did put an official end to the Arian heresy, and purged the city of Arians, it is unlikely that he would have had new statues fashioned to represent the heretic. Perhaps an already existing statue at the Forum came to be associated with Arius, and served as a memory storage for Theodosius's policies. The story of the latrine may have been told so many times at the Forum that once the latrine was gone, the story was transferred to nearby statues and therefore remained attached to the site.[39] The Forum thus both remembered and forgot

Arius and his followers, and its physical elements suggested different versions of the past.[40]

It is important to note that the heresy Arius persuaded the emperor to uphold did not continue to be associated with Constantine, but followed Arius to his death and influenced how he was remembered by future generations of Byzantines. The inverse relationship between triumphant Constantine and defeated Arius was propagated in medieval Byzantium, and reiterated in the stories attached to the Forum's monuments. Not far from the Forum, just down the Mese, at the Milion—a monumental milestone in the vicinity of the Hippodrome erected by Constantine—church councils were represented in mosaic on the open porch, where they could be seen at least until the iconoclastic period, after which they were no longer mentioned.[41] It is possible that the representation of the First Nicaean Council here pitted Constantine against Arius and served as visual proof and prototype of imperial triumph over heresy.[42] The Milion tetrapylon was surmounted with the statues of Constantine and Helena flanking a cross, so in a way Constantine was associated with all the councils, not only the one over which he presided.

The Sixth Council (680–681) at the Milion was removed by the Monophysite-leaning emperor of Armenian origin, Philippikos Bardanes (711–713), who replaced it with images of himself and Patriarch Sergios.[43] While that image was later restored, the author of the life of St. Stephen the Younger reports that the images of all the councils were removed by the iconoclastic emperor Constantine V.[44] The implication is that this namesake of the proto-emperor delegitimized himself by removing visual reminders of the relationship between emperors and the orthodox dogma. Those who removed the images were associated with heresy, both the monophysite Bardanes and the iconoclast Constantine.

Back at the Forum, other pagan statues were associated with the Arian heresy during the Iconoclast period. For example, the compilers of the *Parastaseis* report that the followers of Arius had beheaded with clubs Arcadius, the archdeacon of St. Irene, in front of the statues of Artemis and Aphrodite at the Forum. A gruesome picture of "beheading with clubs" implied that Arcadius's death had been a crime, distinguishing it from imperially sanctioned judicial procedures, thereby further maligning the supporters of Arius and his heresy. The statues shook for three days after this incident, the place resonating with the event after the event was already in the past.[45] While the alleged statue of Arius embodied a perpetrator, these statues embodied witnesses, who reacted to the events and retained the memory for future generations. The renewed interest in Arius during the iconoclast period is evident in a variety of sources.[46] For example, in some of his homilies, Photios directly compares iconoclast patriarchs with Arius, using Arius as a prototype.[47]

Parastaseis also inform us of other statues associated with the proto-emperor Constantine's political enemies and served as warnings against treason. For instance, those who had worshiped a statue of Constantine's opponent Maxentius in the Forum were reportedly beheaded on the orders of Constantine, and the statue destroyed.[48] Was it an actual statue of Maxentius? Was it actually worshipped? Or was some old statue, a signifier devoid of its original meaning, associated with Maxentius and then destroyed, as was the bronze statue of Athena many centuries later?[49] What did this story of the proto-emperor and his major rival mean to the eighth-century audience?

Another heretic, pagan Balsama, had been reportedly beheaded on a set of stairs in the Forum: ". . . Balsama . . . showed no shame and called on gods when he was beheaded at one of the stairs of the Forum, where the first meals of the day were served."[50] This reference to meals and beheading of a heretic in the same sentence invites the question: When people stood in line to get their food at the Forum, did they pass their time talking about people who died violently here? Did the parents take their children, and the guides their visitors, around the city and show them all the dangerous places they knew? Many of the stories were myths, but the memories of these legends became attached to places and statues, and were at times preserved more vividly than some actual historical events. The memory of Constantine the Great and his relationship with heretics and usurpers was particularly persistent, virtually marking spaces with his presence and actions. At each instance of retelling, a mental performance took place, reshaping memories of the place on an individual level. The Forum would remind an emperor of any period of his own place in the social hierarchy and history of the empire. On the one hand, he was to be compared with the founder and prototype, Constantine, and on the other, he was to be reminded that by holding the imperial office he was entrusted with the scepter and crown that was to be returned to Christ upon Second Coming. By contrast, heretics, usurpers, and tyrants were to be compared to either Arius or Antichrist.

NEW MEMORIES AND ASSOCIATIONS

Against the backdrop of the proto-emperor Constantine and heretic Arius, of the Roman past and God's future judgment, present events unfolded. Contemporary acts of punishment in the Forum either visually established the judicial power of the emperor, or expressed a public sentiment and virtually engraved it onto the space itself. For example, in 753/754 in this space, the iconoclast emperor Constantine V (r. 741–775) compared his opponents to Arius. Standing on the platform at the foot of the central column of Constantine, the emperor verbally enacted the punishment of Patriarch Germanos, George of Cyprus, and John of Damascus by publicly denouncing them as heretics, and thus excluded them from the Orthodox community.[51] Their physical bodies were missing from this event, but their reputation was tainted, their defamation forever tied to this place imbued with the memory of Arius's punishment.

Some emperors took particular pains to ensure the citizens were satisfied with the operations of the judicial mechanism within Constantinople. For example, Emperor Theophilos (r. 849–842) was known for his regular horse rides through the city, during which he marked various streets and marketplaces with his presence. One of his visits to the Forum is illustrated in the manuscript of Skylitzes, on fol. 43v: mounted on a horse, Theophilos orders and observes the flogging of a man with a naked torso, tied up by his hands with a rope (Figure 11.2).[52]

According to a story recorded by Zonaras and not present in the manuscript, a woman complained about the unfair treatment by the empress's brother Petronas, and Theophilos ordered this man to be whipped on the back and chest in the middle of the Forum. Theophilus thus made his justice visible to the citizens, performing the relationship between the emperor and the criminal in this space.[53]

The Book of Ceremonies describes an event in which an Arab prince is ritually humiliated at the Forum: while the emperor Constantine VII (r. 913–959) stood on top of the steps by the base of Constantine's column, Abul Asair was brought before him and placed under his feet, in a rare performance of the ancient *calcatio colli* ritual.[54] While the emperor stood triumphantly over the conquered infidel, the singers intoned specific verses from the Psalms

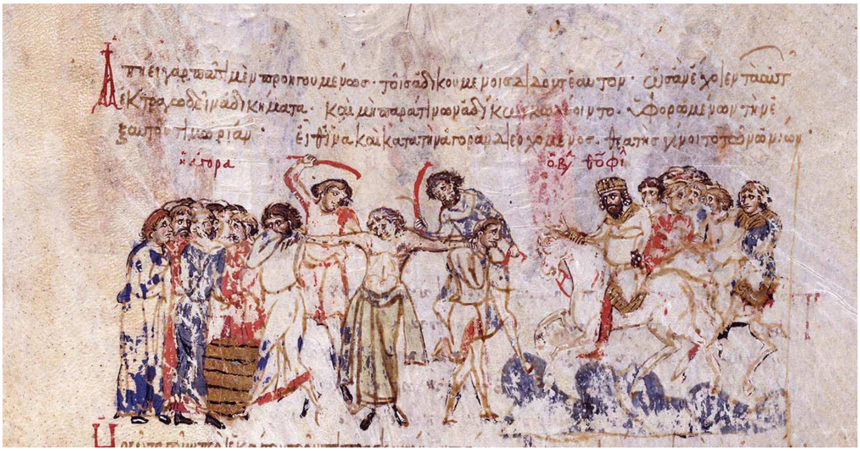

Figure 11.2 Theophilos observes lashing at the Forum, Madrid, Bibl. Nac. Vitr. 22, fol. 43v, Detail, 12th c.

that reminded the gathered crowd of the services at the Great church sung on August 16, during the annual commemoration of the Virgin's intervention in delivering the city from the Arab siege in 718.[55] Therefore this tableau was seen and remembered, marking the space with the relationship between the pious emperor and his heretical opponent. At the same time it reminded the citizens of past triumphs and connected the contemporary emperor to his most successful predecessors, and ultimately to Constantine.

Sometimes severed body parts were paraded through the Forum, usually before being fixed at the Milion for public viewing. For example, the head and one foot of the rebel Branas were transfixed on pikes and paraded through the Forum, before being brought over to the palace to be seen by Emperor Isaakios Angelos (r.1185–1195; 1203–1204).[56] Again, the power relationship between the resplendent body of the ruling emperor and the dissipating body of the usurper was visually/virtually inscribed within the Forum.

Finally, deposed emperors were at times displayed here stripped of all their imperial insignia, as was the case in 1185, when the blinded, toothless, beardless, bald, and beaten Andronikos I was paraded through the Forum on a mangy camel. Looking like a "leafless and withered old stump, his bare head balder than an egg," he appeared in sharp contrast to the triumphant imperial figure he was used to presenting.[57] The citizens threw stones and cow dung at him, hit him, and abused him verbally in this place of imperial triumph, where over the centuries public ceremony shaped the way people understood the relationship between a Christian emperor and those who openly opposed his policies.

As the spectators observed and read the body of the punished Andronikos, they treated him like the worst of criminals. At the same time the authority of the new emperor Isaakios was reinforced. Consequently, long after the mutilated body was buried and gone from sight the memory of the punishment remained bound in the monuments and architectural elements of the spaces in which he received the new emperor's justice. These memories would not have lasted very long were they not recorded in astonishing detail by historian Niketas Choniates shortly after the Western armies took over the city in the infamous Fourth Crusade of 1204. Many of the Forum monuments disappeared between 1204 and 1261, during the reign of the Latin Kingdom in Constantinople, stripping this place of its mementoes of the past.

CONCLUSION

There existed complicated relationships between what people saw in particular spaces, what remained as memory in specific individuals who visited these spaces on different occasions, what was remembered by the community and propagated to new generations, and what was forgotten or invented, intentionally or by chance. While the elements of the Forum could conjure memories of the most distant past and future, they could also invoke stories about other pasts or presents of the site or the city. Specificity of historical events was often trumped by the vagueness of memory, and the inconsistencies of interpretation are key to understanding a place like the Forum both synchronically and diachronically. The way the city remembers things and events does not intuitively separate truth from fiction and both become a part of the city's history, an infinite collection of the stories of place.

NOTES

1. His account compresses John Freely's summary of the site in his modern guide to Istanbul, *City Guide Istanbul*, 5th edn (London: Blue Guide, 2000), 250–53. On Yedikule, see Wolfgang Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexicon zur Topographie Istanbuls* (Würtzburg: Verlag Ernst Wasmuth Tübingen, 1977), 338–41.

2. Particularly rich sources of legends associated with the city's monuments are the *Parastaseis* and the *Patria*. *Constantinople in the Early Eighth Century: The Parastaseis Syntomoi Chronikai*, ed. Averil Cameron and Judith Herrin (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1984); (T. Preger, *Scriptores Originum Constantinopolitanarum*, 2 vols (Leipzig: B.6. Teubner 1907); A. Berger, *Untersuchungen zu den Patria Konstantinupoleos*, Poikila Byzantina 8 (Bonn: Habelt, 1988); *Accounts of Medieval Constantinople, the Patria*, trans. A. Berger, Dumbarton Oaks Medieval Library 24 (Washington DC: Dumbarton Oaks, 2013).

3. Cicero credits Simonides of Ceos with the creation of the art of memory. Simonides advises that those who wish to train the faculty of memory "must select places and form mental images of the things they wish to remember and store those images in the places, so that the order of the places will preserve the order of the things, and the images of the things will denote the things themselves, and we shall employ the places and the images respectively as a wax writing-tablet and the letters written upon it." *De oratore*, II, lxxxvi, 351–4; English translation by E. W. Sutton and H. Rackham, Loeb Classics Edition (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, *1942*) See also Annon, *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, III, and Quintillian, *Institutio Oratoria*: XI. *Ad Herennium* advises that those images need to be striking: "We ought, then, to set up images of a kind that can adhere longest in memory. And we shall do so if we establish similitudes as striking as possible; if we set up images that are not many or vague but active; if we assign to them exceptional beauty or singular ugliness; if we ornament some of them, as with crowns or purple cloaks, so that the similitude may be more distinct to us; or if we somehow disfigure them, as by introducing one stained with blood or soiled with mud and smeared with red paint, so that its form is more striking, or by assigning certain comic effects to our images, for that, too, will ensure our remembering them more readily," *Ad Herennium*, III: 22, trans. Harry Caplan, Loeb Classical Library 403 (Cambridge Harvard University Press, 1954)

4. Mary Carruthers, *The Craft of Thought: Meditation, Rhetoric and the Making of Images, 900–1200* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 8–16. On Western medieval memory practices, see also Carruthers, *The Book of Memory: A Study of*

Memory in Medieval Culture (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1900); Frances Yates, *The Art of Memory* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1966); M. Carruthers and J. M. Ziolkowski, *The Medieval Craft of Memory: An Anthology of Texts and Pictures* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002). On memory in Byzantium, see Amy Papalexandrou, "The Memory Culture of Byzantium," in *A Companion to Byzantium*, edited by Liz James, (Chichester, UK: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010): 108–22.

5. On the issue of space, see Doreen Massey, *For Space* (London: Sage, 2005); Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, trans. Donald Nicholson-Smith (Oxford: Blackwell, 1991; orig. pub. in French 1974); J. E. Malpas, *Place and Experience: A Philosophical Topography* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999).

6. The most recent assessment of the forum is by Anthony Kaldellis, "The Forum of Constantine in Constantinople: What Do We Know about Its Original Architecture and Adornment?" *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies* 56 (2016): 714–39.

7. The majority of statues deteriorated or toppled over the centuries, but some still survived until the Fourth Crusade, such as the statue of Athena, finally overthrown by a group of citizens in 1203. Niketas Choniates, *O City of Byzantium, Annals of Niketas Choniates*, trans. H. Magouilas (Detroit: Wayne State University, 1984), 305–306 [558–59]. For a catalogue of statues in Constantinople, see Sarah Bassett, *The Urban Image of Late Antique Constantinople* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004). See also Gilbert Dagron, *Naissance d'une capitale: Constantinople et ses institutions de 330 à 451* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1974); Cyril Mango, *Le dévelopment urbain de Constantinople, IV-VII siècles*, Travaux et memoires du centre de recherché d'histoire et civilization de Byzance, College de France (Paris, 1985).

8. *Parastaseis*, 231; Raymond Janin, *Constantinople Byzantine: Development urbain et repertoire topographique*, Archives de l'Orient Chrétien 4A (Paris: Institut Français d'Etudes Byzantines, 1964), 145–55.

9. Cameron and Herrin, *Parastaseis*, 219.

10. For regulations of trade in different markets of Constantinople, see *The Book of the Eparch*, ed. Jules Nicole, 1893, intr. Ivan Dujčev (London: Variorum Reprints, 1970); Johannes Koder, *Das Eparchenbuch Leons des Weisen*, Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae 33 (Vienna: Verlag der Osterreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1991); Marlia Mundell Mango, "The Commercial Map of Constantinople," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 54 (2000): 189–207; A. Ilieva and T. Thomov, "The Shape of the Market: Mapping the Book of the Eparch," *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 22 (1998): 105–16.

11. For its form in the sixteenth century, see Anon. Drawing of 1574 in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge. Recent articles on the column include Robert Ousterhout, "The Life and Afterlife of Constantine's Column," *Journal of Roman Archaeology* (2014): 304–26; and Pelin Yoncaci Arslan, "Toward a New Honorific Column: The Column of Constantine in Early Byzantine Urban Landscape," *METU JFA* 33.1 (2016): 121–45.

12. Cyril Mango, "Constantinople's Porphyry Column and the Chapel of Saint Constantine," *Deltion tes historikes kai Ethnologikes Hetaireias tes Hellados* 10 (1980–1981): 104.

13. Although sources are silent, scholars have proposed several possibilities. See Bassett, *The Urban Image*, 192–204; Ousterhout, "The Life and Afterlife of

Constantine's Column," 311–14. Mango notes that the crown with seven rays was a reference to emperor as sun god, as in his coins. Cyril Mango, "Constantine's Column," reprinted in *Studies on Constantinople*, (Aldershot: Variorum Collected Studies Series, 1993) III, 1–7. See also Cameron and Herrin, *Parastaseis*, 263–64. Jonathan Bardill, *Constantine, Divine Emperor of the Christian Golden Age* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015).

14. Taking a cue from Fentress and Wickham, who use the term "social memory" to denote that a community can both share a set of narratives and that individuals can affect the narrative of their community, Danielle S. Allen notes: "The communal production of memories, available for all to share, occurs on public occasions or through public media in which the past, present, and future come into discussion." See her discussion in *The World of Prometheus: The Politics of Punishing in Democratic Athens* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2000), 66–68. See also J. Fentress and C. Wickham, *Social Memory: New Perspectives on the Past* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992).

15. Anatole Frolow, "La dédicace de Constantinople dans la tradition byzantine," *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 127 (1944).

16. For the shift and competing narratives, see Frolow, "La dédicace," 61–127. *Chron. Paschale* I, 527–30, translated in Cyril Mango, *Art of the Byzantine Empire, 312–1453: Sources and Documents*, Medieval Academy Reprints for Teaching 16 (Toronto: Toronto University Press, 1986), 7–10; Slawomir Bralewski, "The Porphyry Column in Constantinople and the Relics of the True Cross," *Studia Ceranea* 1 (2011): 87–100.

17. Walter E. Kaegi, *Heraclius, Emperor of Byzantium* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 136–40. *Traduction et commentaire de l'homélie écrite probablement par Théodore le Syncelle sur le siège de Constantinople en 626*, ed. Ferenc Makk (Szeged: Acta Universitatis de Attila Jósef Nominatae, 1975). George of Pisidia also reports that an icon of Theotokos was carried in procession.

18. Michael McCormick, *Eternal Victory: Triumphal Rulership in Late Antiquity, Byzantium and the Early Medieval West* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 75–76.

19. Constantine VI Porphyrogennetos, *Le livre de Cérémonies*, ed. Albert Vogt (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1967); Mango, "Constantinople's Porphyry Column," 103–10; Cameron and Herrin, *Parastaseis* [15–17].

20. Mango thinks that the chapel later disappears from view because Theotokos takes over as the patron of Constantinople. Mango, "Constantinople's Porphyry Column," 109.

21. Anna Comnena, *The Alexiad*, trans. E. R. A. Sewter revised by Peter Frankopan, (London; New York: Penguin, 2009) 220–21. Mango, "Constantine's Column," 1–7. *According to Script. Orig. Constantin.*138.20. it killed ten people and damaged the chapel of Saint Constantine. This was a small chapel, not mentioned after the tenth century, built by the late ninth century: Mango, "Constantine's Porphyry Column," 109.

22. Ousterhout, "The Life and Afterlife of Constantine's Column."

23. Cameron and Herrin, *Parastaseis*, 78–81.

24. Ibid., 84–85[9], 68–69 [23]; *Russian Travelers to Constantinople in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries*, edited by George Majeska, Dumbarton Oaks Studies 19 (Washington DC: Dumbarton Oaks, 1984); John Wortley, "The Legend of Constantine the Relic-Provider," in *Daimonopylai: Essays presented to Edmund G. Berg*,

edited by R. B. Egan and M. A. Joyal, (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Center for Hellenic Civilization, 2004), rprt. in *Studies on the Cult of Relics in Byzantium up to 1204*, Variorum Collected Studies Series 935 (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2009), III, 487–96

25. Also mentioned are baskets from Jesus's multiplication of bread and parts of Noah's axe: Frolow, "La dédicace," 77; Wortley, "Constantine the Relic-Provider," 487–96.

26. Lennart Ryden, "The Andreas Salos Apocalypse," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 28 (1974): 222. Other sources say they were buried below. See also G. T. Zervos "Apocalypse of Daniel: A New Translation and Introduction," in *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha,* edited by James Charlesworth, (New York: Double Day, 1983) I, 761–70; Mango, "Constantine's Porphyry Column," 109 and n. 20.

27. By the early seventh century, Constantinople was regularly referred to as the "New Jerusalem." David Olster suggests that the translation of relics by Heraclius ahead of the Islamic conquest of Jerusalem might have been in part an effort to reposition the place of Constantinople in Christian geography. Kaegi, *Heraclius*; Jelena Erdeljan, *Chosen Places: Constructing New Jerusalem in Slavia Orthodoxa* (Leiden: Brill, 2017).

28. Paul Magdalino, ed., *New Constantines: The Rhythm of Imperial Renewal in Byzantium, 4th–13th Centuries: Papers from the Twenty-Sixth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, St Andrews, March 1992* (Aldershot: Ashgate/Variorum, 1994).

29. David. M. Gwynn, *The Eusebians: The Polemic of Athanasius of Alexandria and the Construction of the "Arian Controversy"* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006); Cameron and Herrin, *Parastaseis*, 105; Sozomen, *The Ecclesiastical History*, trans. Edward Walford (London: Henry G. Bohn, 1855).

30. Alexandrian bishop Alexander and his deacon—the future bishop Athanasius of Alexandria (328–373)—both urged against him.

31. See Alice Leroy-Molingen, "La mort d'Arius," *Byzantion* 38 (1968): 105–11. The first letter reporting Arius's fall and death is addressed to the bishop of Egypt and Lybia: *Epistula ad episcopos Aegypti et Libiae* XIX, PG XX, col. 581A, while the letter to Serapion adds the detail of the "necessities of nature": *Epistula ad Serapionem de morte Arii*, PG XXV, col. 685–690. English translation by Archibald Robertson, in *Select Writings and Letters of Athanasius, Bishop of Alexandria*, edited by Phillip Schaff (Buffalo, NY: Christian Literature Publishing Co, 1892), 1314–17: "Eusebius and his fellows threatened, the Bishop prayed; but Arius, who had great confidence in Eusebius and his fellows, and talked very wildly, urged by the necessities of nature withdrew, and suddenly, in the language of Scripture, 'falling headlong he burst asunder in the midst,' and immediately expired as he lay, and was deprived both of communion and of life together."

32. Gilbert Dagron, *Constantinople imaginaire: Etudes sur le recueil des "Patria"* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1984), 141–43; Timothy E. Gregory and Alexander P. Kazhdan, "Arius," in the *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, edited by P. Kazhdan, Vol.1 (Newyork; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), I, 172.

33. Socrates, *HE* 1.38. See also August *Neander, General History of the christian Religion and church*, translated by J. Torrey (Boston: Crocker & Brewster, 1848) II. 384–88.

34. Acts 1:18–1:22. Matt. 27:4 reports a different version: "Then he threw down the pieces of silver in the temple and departed, and went and hanged himself."

35. Socrates, *HE* 1.38.

36. Sozomen, *HE* 2.30.

37. On remembering bizarre events, see Carruthers, *Craft*, 101–102, 133–34, 148.

38. Cameron and Herrin, *Parastaseis*, 105 [39]; Dagron, *Constantinople imaginaire*, 143, concludes “A Constantinople, tout finit toujours par des statues.”

39. For talismanic character of statuary in Byzantine culture, see, for example, Cyril Mango, “Antique Statuary and the Byzantine Beholder,” *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 17 (1963): 55–75; and Liz James “Pray Not to Fall into Temptation and Be on Your Guard: Pagan Statues in Christian Constantinople,” *Gesta* 35.1 (1996): 12–20.

40. Ellen Muehlberger draws similar conclusions between the space itself and the legend of Arius’s demise. “The Legend of Arius’ Death: Imagination, Space and Filth in Late Ancient Historiography,” *Past & Present* 227.1 (May 2015): 3–29.

41. Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexicon zur Topographie Istanbuls*, 216. John Beckwith, Richard Krautheimer, and Slobodan Ćurčić, *Early Christian and Byzantine Art* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986), *168n6*; Christopher Walter, *L’Iconographie de conciles dans la tradition byzantine* (Paris: Institute Francis & Etudes Byzantines 1970).

42. Mango, *Art of the Byzantine Empire*, 153. Arius always appears in images of the first council: Walter, *L’Iconographie*, figs 38, 46, 49.

43. Agathon the Deacon, trans. in Mango, *Art of the Byzantine Empire*, 141.

44. Alice-Mary Talbot, *Byzantine Defenders of Images: Eight Saints’ Lives in English Translation* (Washington DC: Dumbarton Oaks, 1998), xi and n. 23.

45. Cameron and Herrin, *Parastaseis*, 105 [39].

46. Ibid., 221 David M. Gwynn, “From Iconoclasm to Arianism: The Construction of Christian Tradition in the Iconoclast Controversy,” *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies* 47 (2007): 225–51.

47. Frances Dvornik, “The Patriarch Photius and Iconoclasm,” *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 7 (1953): 67–97.

48. Cameron and Herrin, *Parastaseis*, 105 [39].

49. The statue of Athena at the Forum was destroyed by the citizens in 1203 because they believed she was beckoning the Western armies into the city. Choniates, *O City of Byzantium*, 305–306.

50. Cameron and Herrin, *Parastaseis*, 105 [39].

51. Cyril Mango and Roger Scott, eds. *The Chronicle of Theophanes confessor: Byzantine and Near Eastern History, AD 784–813* (New york: Clarendon press, 1997), 5 91, [428].

52. Vasiliki Tasmakda, *The Illustrated Chronicle of loannes skylitzes in Madrid* (Leiden: Alexandors Press, 2002), 85.

53. The image is not backed up by Skylitzes’s text, but the premise is supplied by Zonaras who recounts the episode. Ioannes Zonaras, *Epitome historiarum*, ed. M. Pinder and M. Büttner-Wobst (Bonn, 1841–97), III, 356–357.

54. De Cer, 2. 19, Bonn, 607.18–608.18.

55. McCormick, *Eternal Victory*, 160–63.

56. Choniates, *O City of Byzantium*, 213 [388].

57. Ibid., 184 [342]. Andronikos did not meet his final end at the Forum, but was taken to a place where many usurpers and deposed emperors met their final end: the Hippodrome.

Chapter 12

The Conversion of Sacrifice in Late Antique Art*

Alice Christ

Since Scott Bradbury's "Julian's Pagan Revival and the Decline of Blood Sacrifice,"[1] scholarship acknowledges the contemporary unease even among pagans with Julian's excessive, expensive, possibly superstitious practices in reviving animal sacrifice. Bradbury suggested that this recession of animal sacrifice from its previous apparent centrality in public and civic religious practice has roots in the third-century crises of invasions, civil wars and the financial collapse of curial elites, and the old systems of civic benefaction. Philosophical critiques of animal sacrifice and, by the fourth century, restrictive legislation and the expropriation of temple properties are acknowledged to have had significant, if unquantifiable, effects on public sacrifices, even if some of the bans on sacrifice are really bans on augury and magic.[2] At the same time, recent scholarship has questioned whether animal sacrifice was ever really central to Roman religion as an integrated system of beliefs and practices,[3] although Julian, at least, apparently conceived it a decisive identity marker for pagan religious allegiance. Both the extent of a decline, its dating to the third or fourth century, and whether declining incidence of animal sacrifice can be correlated with declining "paganism," or "pagan belief," whether as cause or as effect,[4] remain nearly as undetermined, if not as unexamined, as Kaegi found the fifth-century persistence of paganism in 1966.[5]

Certainly, as Elsner points out, representations of sacrifice, whether literary or visual, are never simply documents of a religious enactment.[6] In the face of this recognition, Elsner nevertheless attempted to use an inventory of representations of animal sacrifice as evidence of a waning power of the

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[*] in honor of W. E. Kaegi's early forays into Julian and the end of Byzantine paganism.

traditional state religion to engage subject peoples and provincial religions in the face of "centrifugal trends."[7]

A diagnosis of waning representation of animal sacrifice in visual culture might at least reveal a waning ideological importance of animal sacrifice, a waning investment in its public commemoration, if not necessarily its practice.

However, if visual representations are expressions of ideology, they are also material and social productions dependent on the same kinds of historical factors that supported or eroded curial cultures in the later Roman empire. Given the dearth of imperial relief monuments between the Severans and the Tetrarchy, there is indeed a long third-century lapse in depictions of animal sacrifice. But on the resumption of imperial sculpture commissions, it is surely significant that all the Tetrarchic relief programs include imperial sacrifices. The Decennalia base in Rome has a full *suovetaurilia* and the Arch of Galerius in Thessaloniki includes paired emperors making the first offering or libation, accompanied by oxen. The Arch of Constantine's hunting sacrifices are spolia and do not include sacrificial animals. Since they date to the time of Hadrian, at the height of the iconography of civic animal sacrifice, it is likely that this reflects the different types of sacrifice appropriate to different occasions rather than any supposed reticence about displaying animal sacrifice. The Small Hunt mosaic at Piazza Armerina shows a similar scenario of sacrifice at a rustic shrine at a similar date to the Constantinian use of the roundels. The hunter offers a pinch of something from the box in his left hand, at an altar before a statue of Diana on a column between two trees. The hunting sacrifice in the field pertains to the iconography of the seasonal pleasures of country life in the villa context, but it also carries implications of the shifting focus of civic benefaction toward providing for public games in a calendar increasingly occupied by imperial festivals.[8] In the imperial context of the arch it also still evokes powers of imperial *virtus* over a natural order inhabited by divinities. Sacrifice, although it is awarded to his co-emperor on the arch, still seems to be an expected signifier of the right order of divine and human powers in the time of Constantine. Similarly, it seems unlikely that the ideology of animal sacrifice as an emblem of imperial mediation with the divine for human well-being had lost its force. The concentration of representations in imperial capitals likely resulted from the tetrarchic centralization of both resources and administrative control. It corresponds to the erosion (and later expropriation) of curial resources that curtailed local elite practice and representation of participation in the hierarchy of authority and benefaction Gordon described for the earlier empire.[9]

Visual culture analysis at this coarse-grained level cannot evidence previously unknown ideological changes in Roman or pagan religious identity. It contributes nothing to questions about the time, the causes, or the results of declining "paganism" or "pagan belief." The problem is similar to the one Kaegi acknowledged in "The Fifth-Century Twilight of Byzantine Paganism"[10]: a census of the spotty production and survival of pagan literary evidences of religious identity and practice in the fifth century cannot document real percentages of pagan population either at the beginning or at the end of the century. However, a more fine-grained reading of, for example, the *Life of Severus of Antioch* can decipher mechanisms of conversion and lead the way for serious evaluation of claims in hagiographies that previously seemed mere hyperbole.[11]

Grottanelli's similarly fine-grained analysis of Paulinus of Nola's *Carmen XX* provides a model for visual culture analysis of possible changes in the ideology of sacrifice, or of its representations.[12] He shows that the poem is no mere record of a "pagan survival" of animal sacrifice at the *natalicia* of St. Felix. Instead, the poet responds to the traditional expectations of sacrificial feasting practices of some country Christians by recasting these apparently traditional practices in new Christian terms. The early-fifth-century Christian poet can still use tropes of sacrifice to perform "cultural work."[13] Sacrifice is neither continued nor erased, but converted. On this model, investigation of some visual inventions of fourth- and fifth-century iconography will show that representations of sacrifice are likewise converted and continue to perform "cultural work" in Christian hands.

The conversion of sacrifice is found in the earliest Christian representations of the Passion and of martyrdom, appearing in the mid-fourth century in the city of Rome. These are, first, the martyrdoms of Peter and Paul, appearing along with their first recognizable portrait types on a series of columnar and frieze sarcophagi that also commonly feature the earliest scenes of the Passion of Christ (Figure 12.1).[14]

Then, similar to the martyrdom of Paul, there are a very few other martyrdoms by the sword: three unknown martyrs in the private shrine at the house under SS. Giovanni e Paolo[15]; Achilleus (and probably the missing Nereus) from the Damasian expansion of their shrine at the catacomb of Domitilla.[16] Both the Crucifixion and martyrdoms were interpreted as sacrifices for more than 300 years in Christian literature before they were visually represented.[17] Interestingly, the early visual depictions of martyrdoms, unlike the textual accounts, are heavily skewed toward beheadings by the sword. When Passion and martyrdoms finally began to appear, in the city of Rome at the mid-fourth century, about the time of Julian's renewed state sponsorship of animal sacrifice, makers and audiences of Christian art did not shy away from visual allusions to pagan religious practice.

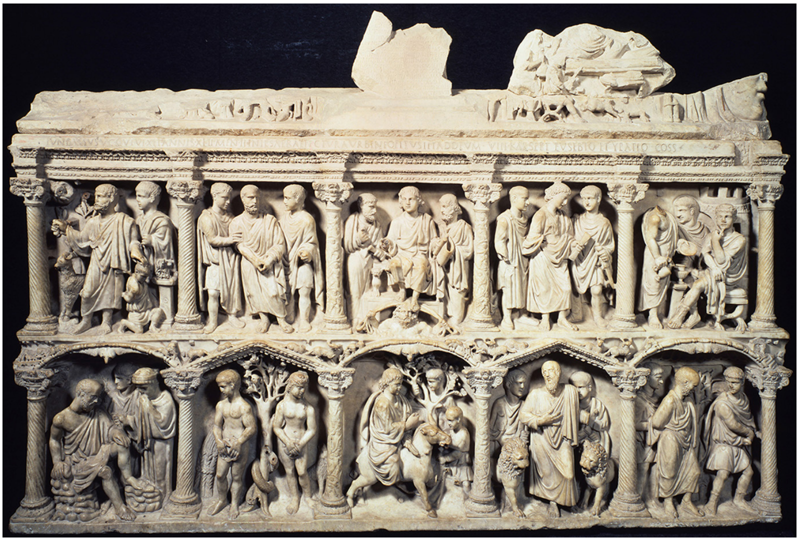

Figure 12.1 Sarcophagus of Junius Bassus, Vatican, Basilica of St. Peter, Museum of the Treasury. *Source*: Photo credit, Scala/Art Resource, NY.

Previous studies of the iconography of martyrdom derived the imagery from two predominantly secular spheres of Roman imagery. André Grabar placed martyrdom depictions among the developments he called "imperialization of Christian art," when the church under imperial patronage gained access to imperial artists who adapted official iconographies to Christian subjects. He proposed that they belong to "one area of Christian iconography that is entirely dependent on models furnished by the art of the Roman state: the iconography of tribunals, judgments, condemnations and executions."[18] The lateness of the Crucifixion would be explained by the fact that there are no models for it in Roman official art.[19] Early depictions of martyrdoms favor the sword supposedly because there are precedents for beheadings in imperial triumphal iconography, such as the execution of barbarians on the Column of Marcus Aurelius (Figure 12.2).

However, the scene on the column has almost nothing but the sword in common with any of the early martyrdom depictions. The barbarians crouch, cringing, with bent knees, leaning from the waist, while captors push them forward. The martyrs stand serenely facing their fate, like Paul, or kneel humbly like the unknown trio of SS. Giovanni e Paolo.

The executioners on the column are allied barbarians, not the Roman soldiers who lead Peter and Paul and Achilleus (missing on the damaged fresco), and they raise their swords like choppers, rather than swinging it back or preparing to draw for the blow. There is another problem with Grabar's theory.

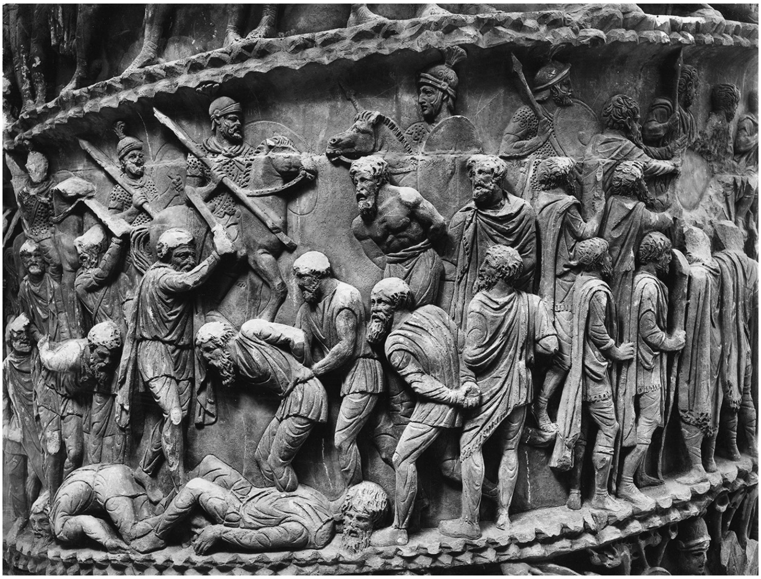

Figure 12.2 Column of Marcus Aurelius, Decapitation of German Nobles. *Source*: Photo credit, Alinari/Art Resource, NY.

If neither crucifixion nor ordinary judicial executions were subjects of official Roman art, "the iconography of tribunals, judgments, condemnations, and executions" is also mighty hard to find there. Judgments are scenes of *Clementia*; or, by about 400, on the ivory diptychs, they celebrate the authority of the officeholder, holding court or giving games, without showing criminals. The tribunal scenes Grabar adduced are in the miniature friezes of the House of the Vettii, narrating folk tales or depicting theatrical performances of just judges, like the Judgment of Solomon. Thus, they belong to the sphere of entertainment and private luxury in domestic decoration.

This is a sphere that did depict at least one kind of normal criminal execution suffered by Christians, namely, condemnation *ad bestias* at the public spectacles. And this is the sphere where Salomonson argued early Christian depictions of martyrdoms appeared in North African floor mosaics and tableware as early as the third century and into the fourth, supposedly reflecting a characteristically North African Donatist Christian identity as "the Church of Martyrs" (Figure 12.4).[20]

The Zliten mosaic (and a related one at Thysdrus) date about contemporary with some of the best authenticated early text accounts of martyrdom in the arena: Polycarp, the martyrs of Lyons, or Perpetua and Felicitas from the African church, for example.[21] All these entailed noncitizen and servile condemnations *ad flammas* or *ad bestias*, executed in the stadium or amphitheater, as part of festival celebrations of public spectacles, normally between

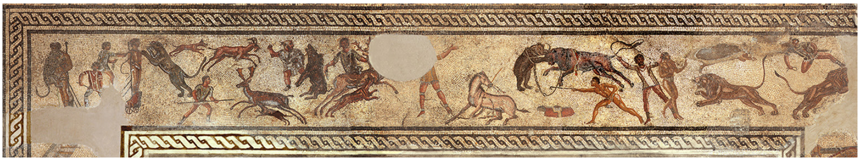

Figure 12.3 Zliten mosaic, Archaeological Museum of Tripoli, Libya. *Source*: Photo credit, copyright Gilles Mermet/Art Resource, NY.

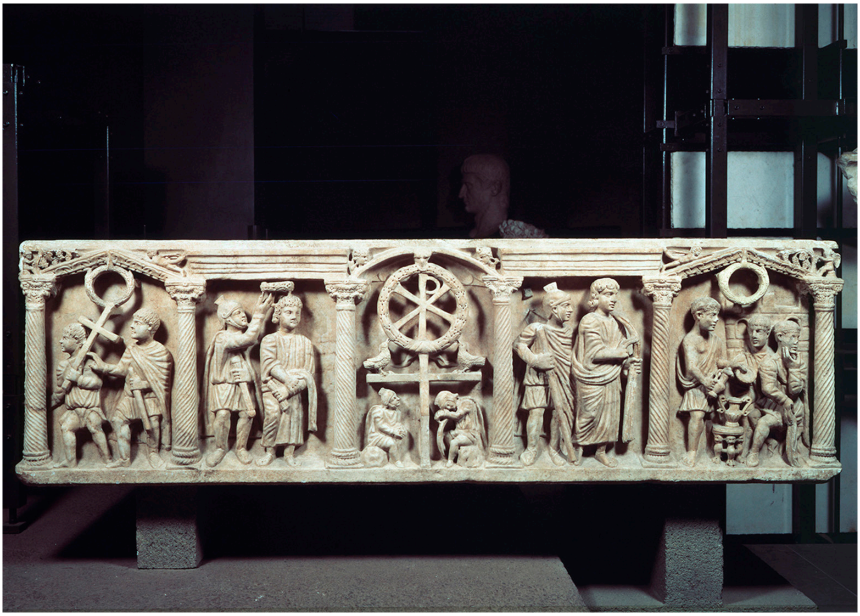

Figure 12.4 Passion of Christ Sarcophagus, Vatican, Museo Pio Cristiano. *Source*: Photo credit, Scala/Art Resource, NY.

the morning wild beast hunts and afternoon gladiator combats. Certainly, the mosaics show details all too congruent with the sufferings of the martyrs reported in the texts. Prisoners were driven with whips, like Maturus, Sanctus, Blandina, and Attalus, on the day of beast fighting at Lyons. They were tied to stakes, like Blandina, presented on little pushcarts "for beasts to jump on." Mosaics and texts both relate the close engagement of *venatores* and tell of similar mischances in performance. On the mosaic, animals like bull and bear were forced to fighting frenzy by tying them inescapably to an opponent. The Martyrdom of Perpetua also records unreliable bear aggression: a bear refused to attack Saturus; then in an unsuccessful attempt to tie Saturus to a boar, the *venator* was fatally gored instead. (After all these natural beasts refused to execute the unjust sentence, it fell to the gladiators to cut the martyrs' throats, as they did to criminals sentenced to unarmed combat.)

Despite the weight of such corresponding incident, Salomonson's theory that these mosaics are peculiarly African early Christian depictions of martyrdom has not won acceptance. For one thing, images of condemned criminals do appear elsewhere in the empire, always with other aspects of the spectacles, such as circus races and gladiator combats, but especially the *venationes* or *theriomachia*, the animal combats.[22] The mosaics seem interested in the executions primarily as animal adventures, for they notably omit representations of other tortures in the martyrdom texts, such as roasting on the "iron chair" or burning alive. The location of such scenes in the luxury apartments of large private houses or villas and their context among scenes of suburban amenity suggest that like similar scenes on later tableware, lamps, or terracotta plaques, these mosaic scenes of the arena fit easily among the repertory of civic well-being, enjoyment of good fortune, and celebration of public benefaction common in the private domestic arts of the Roman empire.[23]

The fact that Christian scenes emerged on similar kinds of objects in the fourth century[24] cannot be projected backward onto imagery without any explicitly Christian markers. Nor does the existence of fifth-century African Red Slip bowls with miracles of Christ prove that contemporary products of the same shops with animals of the arena are allusions to martyrdom.[25]

Salomonson's argument depends further on accepting the claim that celebration of the glories of crucifixion and martyrdom in early Christian literature would have made depictions of such ignominious criminal penalties in visual media unproblematic for Christian audiences already by the third century.[26] But the ignominious image, unlike a word, is not evanescent, superseded by the next. It cannot be replaced or colored by later images, but dangerously remains a fixed presence. Despite the literature, the fact remains that there are no Christian Crucifixion images until the fifth century.[27] It is no accident that the earliest known depiction of Christ on the cross is a hostile one: the probably third-century graffito of a donkey-headed man inscribed "Alexamenos worships his god." And although Prudentius at the end of the fourth century describes the shrine of Hippolytus displaying a scene of his martyrdom dismembered by horses, attested depictions of martyrdoms are scarce before the sixth century and never feature condemnation *ad bestias*. There is no more reason for the *ad bestias* iconography to be Christian than the many empire-wide gladiator and circus scenes found in similar domestic settings.

Nevertheless, it is worth examining these scenes for what they show about executions in the arena, how the imagery compares to Christian textual accounts of martyrdoms, and how both differ from attested early depictions of martyrdoms. The executions on the mosaics could, after all, encompass Christians, along with the usual run of magicians, bandits, and other noxious enemies of society. Like depictions of the Crucifixion, depictions of martyrdom entail real problems of moral reversal in representing Roman state penal practices applied to Christians. Like the first hostile Crucifixion, the criminal executions in the domestic arts are hardly represented from the point of view of venerating co-religionists. For they lack any visual counterpart to the literary similes, parallelisms, reversals, and metaphors that allow a Christian hearer of the account to recognize the triumphant combat of an imitator of Christ in the gruesome details of penal procedure. Although the emblems of victory, such as the palms of the victorious charioteer, could be attributed on red-slip ware also to Christian scenes like the Healing of the Paralytic, a visual translation of the narrative of such victorious single combats as described for the martyrs of Lyons might in fact look a lot like a representation of gladiator combat, disturbingly close to the literal events of the arena.

Some metaphoric devices of the texts could have been rendered visually, but were not. Blandina, for example, "hung on the wood for beasts to jump on," appears in the text like Christ, "in the form of the cross," as the criminals of Zliten notably do not.[28] Here, the imitation of Christ, which is a primary and persistent feature in the ideology of martyrdom, is described in the text as attached to a visible form: the cross. Of course, Christian images of Christ on the cross did not yet exist, and would not until about one hundred years after Constantine is said to have abolished the practice of crucifixion.[29] The early versions, like the British Museum ivory and the doors of S. Sabina, insist on the sufferer being rather awkwardly "fixed to the wood," "in the form of a cross" as martyr texts describe not only for Blandina, but also for the bishop Fructuosus and for Carpus, Papylus, and Agathonice before they were burnt alive.[30] By the fifth century, artists would never have seen a crucifixion. They would have to rely on the idea to construct the image and it appears that the idea may be inspired by the martyr texts, rather than by any visual imagery of execution. By the fifth century, an image of the Crucifixion could be constructed quite independent of the unwanted implications of the appearance of penal practices.

The same could not be said for executions in the arena. These were not abolished and did not lapse until the sixth century. Constantine himself wrote to the vicar of Africa in 315 that slaves or freedmen convicted of kidnapping children should be "thrown to the wild beasts at the first public spectacle," while a free citizen will be "given to a gladiatorial show . . . without self-defense . . . he shall be destroyed by the sword."[31] When Valentinian and Valens wrote to Symmachus, prefect of Rome in 365, that "a Christian shall not be sentenced to the arena," it is not entirely clear whether this included condemnation to the beasts as well as assignment to a gladiator school or show.[32] But the beasts and the flames still awaited slaves who dared to testify in court about property, as late as 439; a landlord's steward could be condemned *ad flammas* for harboring a deserter in 380. By 382, Gratian, Valentinian, and Theodosius were ordering the "supreme penalty" for certain heretics, at the behest of Christian bishops.[33] If by the end of the fourth century Christians could wholeheartedly condemn the sufferers of such penalties as enemies of god and man, what might earlier have been reluctance to figure forth the original hostility of Roman imperial power may now have been complicated by desire to avoid confusing the venerable martyrs, receding into a heroic Christian past, with such despicable characters in the contemporary Christian empire, particularly as some of them were claiming to be martyrs themselves.[34]

So there were good reasons for Christian rejection of ostensibly relevant iconographic precedents for martyrdoms in the private, domestic, secular arts. It was a visual way to de-emphasize details of penal execution in favor of more metaphoric and allusive versions of a Passional and martyrial ideal. Early Passion scenes and martyrdoms by the sword offered the necessary visual elements to gloss the narrative events with the required moral reversal. Beginning with the Passion, this ideal was conveyed by visual allusions to representations of sacrifice, and expanded in the martyrdoms to construct a glorious imitation of Christ and a kind of victorious combat or Christian sacrifice.

The earliest surviving scene of the Passion of Christ is the Court of Pilate, which appears on frieze and column sarcophagi in the second third of the fourth century.[35] On the Bassus sarcophagus (Figure 12.1), this scene is paired in a continuous narrative with the Arrested Christ in the neighboring niche. However, the scene was capable of standing alone, apparently as an indicator of the whole passion story. This is a tribunal scene that does supply some ambient details of the *praesidium* of Pilate which happen not to be mentioned in the gospel narrative. Pilate is accompanied by his assessor, as are the judges commonly in the martyr texts, and Wilpert identified the vase on the altar-like table as the water clock customary in courtroom procedure.[36] The impression given by the sarcophagus depiction that Christ was brought before Pilate by Roman soldiers is ahead of the action as reported in the text. Christ was hailed before Pilate by the chief priests and leaders of the people. After the interview, in the course of which Pilate washes his hands (only in Matt 27:24), Pilate turns him over to the soldiers. The soldiers of the scene on the sarcophagi thus tend to foreshadow the forthcoming events of the Passion, as well as giving a clear indication in the visual language of narrative relief that Christ is here a prisoner.

The attendant standing to the left behind the table, holding a small jug, and on the Bassus sarcophagus a patera, may suggest the handwashing. It is notable, however, that unlike the slightly later doors of Sta. Sabina and the ivories, the sarcophagi do not show Pilate actually washing his hands. He seems instead to be still unhappily pondering his present failure to free a man in whom he cannot find guilt. The Arrested Christ of the next niche, his right hand raised in speech, who participates so closely in this scene must therefore be engaged in the brief and enigmatic conversation which constituted his defense before the *praeses*.[37] Depicting this narrative moment, rather than the later handwashing itself, emphasizes the sacrificial air the attendant lends the scene. He stands, wearing a laurel wreath (missing on the Bassus sarcophagus), in the position of a *camillus* beside the altar in representations of Roman state sacrifices. Although the *camillus* is fully clothed and carries a box, the little jug is like those represented among the attributes of Roman priesthoods, as on the Arch of the Argentarii, and appears carried by a youth on the Louvre *Suovetaurilia*. The patera is the instrument of the preliminary libation, performed by sponsor of the sacrifice, not the victimarii. The treatment of the servant as a laureate youth, as if a *camillus* attending at a pagan sacrifice, bears interpretation as the major device through which the scene is made to signify visually the preparation of the blood sacrifice of Christ, the sacrifice which, in Christian interpretation, replaced all sacrifices. The sacrificial aura of the attendant suggests that the Pilate scene alone was invented to stand for the Crucifixion, like the metonymic representation of the libation without the victim in some pagan sacrifice representations.

The earliest version of this pair of Passion scenes, on the Passion of Christ sarcophagus, includes Christ Crowned with Thorns and the Carrying of the Cross in the two left niches (Figure 12.5). The martyrdom of Peter on other sarcophagi of the group appears quite literally as an imitation of the Passion of Christ as it is shown in these two niches. On some examples, Peter is led carrying a cross, like that carried before Christ on the left half of the Passion of Christ sarcophagus. On others, like the Bassus sarcophagus, he stands like Christ crowned with thorns, captive between soldiers.[38] The cross is à propos for Peter's crucifixion upside down, but it is also the emblem of martyrial triumph, as in the central resurrection trophy on the same sarcophagus (Figure 12.5), or carried by saints martyred in quite other ways.[39] Here, the early martyrdom depictions begin to find visual metaphors with counterparts in the early texts: the cross, philosopher imagery, and, in the case of Paul, martyred by the sword according to legend, parallels with combat and sacrifice.

Representations of martyrs are ennobled by philosophy. The martyrs wear tunic and pallium. Peter, like Christ Crowned with Thorns, departs to punishment in the attitude of resigned contemplation of the famous portrait of Demosthenes.[40] Martyrs may be, like Polycarp in the literature, both athletes and *didaskaloi*, but in the art they appear only as philosophers. Images do not offer their stripped bodies for comparison to the verbal representation of the holy, handsome, and intact body of Pionius.[41] The early images of martyrs by the sword, such as Paul on the Bassus sarcophagus, are also dressed as

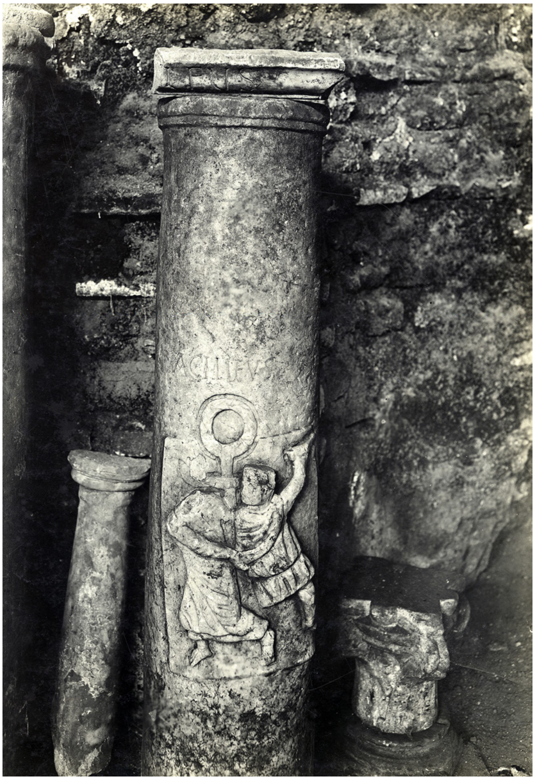

Figure 12.5 Catacomb of Domitilla, Basilica of Sts Nereus and Achilleus, colonnette with Martyrdom of St. Achilleus. *Source*: Photo Pontificia Commissione di Archeologia Sacra Photo Archive.

philosophers. This is appropriate enough for the writer of letters, but it applies also to the image of Achilleus, who was a soldier martyr according to the earliest testimonial in the epitaph of Damasus.

Beheading by the sword "at the usual place" is the fate of a number of soldier martyrs as told in a literary tradition of court procedurals, featuring clever or pathetic or didactic dialogue between martyr and magistrate, rather than a catalogue of sufferings and tortures. The texts may originate in reports of Christians with citizen rights, like Justin and his companions, about 165, who were executed by the sword, often after scourging, but without interrogations under torture. The number of these accounts seems to increase through the third century and the parallelism between soldier and martyr received some nice literary elaborations, such as the Martyrdom of Julian the Veteran,[42] perhaps contributing to Christian willingness to envision martyrdoms as beheadings by the sword.[43]

The visual depictions of martyrdom by the sword make allusions to combat, either military or gladiatorial, that correspond to textual descriptions of martyrs in victorious combat. Only the soldier executioner corresponds to a member of a narrative combat pair, however. One version of the martyrdom of Paul shows the military executioner still drawing his sword, but confronting his victim, one knee bent and raised elbow back, as if poised for a straight, horizontal thrust forward. This resembles a formula known in representations of combat, such as scene 73 on the Column of Trajan, or twice on the Ludovisi Battle sarcophagus.[44] As an isolated pair, the composition also recalls gladiator combats.[45] However, the martyr Paul shows no sign of reluctance, yet appears neither to fight nor to surrender in defeat. Although his hands are bound behind him, he bows his head only slightly and maintains the dignity of the philosopher. This lack of physical resistance elevates the combat on the side of the martyr to the spiritual plane and so makes clear that the literal victory of arms is not the real one. This is the visual counterpart to declarations in the texts that the martyr at the moment of death has achieved victory in his great *agon*, or that soldiers of Christ have triumphed in a great battle.[46] The martyr's combat is won somewhere else.

It is in this context of martyrdom by the sword that other sarcophagi present a different composition for the Martyrdom of Paul, less military confrontation and more willing sacrifice. The sacrifice of a martyr to God is a theme among the earliest martyrdom accounts and receives increasing emphasis later. Already Polycarp is bound, hands behind back, "like a noble ram chosen for an oblation . . . a holocaust prepared and made acceptable to God."[47] Alexander and Attalus of the martyrs of Lyons, when they died of roasting in the iron chair, were "offered up (etythesan)."[48] In the persecution of 303, Conon's victory is also an offering (prosphora); Felix Bishop of Tibiuca bent his neck to God and was beheaded "for a victim ('tibi cervicem meam *ad victimam* flecto')"; Euplus/Euplius states that he sacrifices himself now to Christ God.[49]

The Bassus sarcophagus martyrdom of Paul visually conveys this sacrificial gloss in two ways. Paul, hands bound behind his back, is presented by an assistant, who holds the dedicated victim with the covered hands used for sacred things. It is noteworthy that animals for sacrifice on Roman public monuments are not shown bound and are not handled with covered hands, so this is not a borrowing from traditional sacrifice scenes. But the contrapposto swing of the executioner, one arm across his body preparing the blow, has direct precedents in traditional iconography of animal sacrifice.[50]

The related representation of the martyrdom of Achilleus by the sword on a colonnette from the shrine shows the soldier raising his arm in still more dramatic contrapposto for a backhanded blow. The crown of victory mounted above the cross stands behind the figures, characterizing the sacrificial execution as an imitation of Christ.

In sacrifices the willing victim kneels with lowered head, gestures distributed among human counterparts in the anonymous martyrs under SS. Giovanni e Paolo, where the executioner is lost. This is a posture commonly given to Isaac, standing or kneeling, hands bound, in fourth-century sarcophagus sculpture. Interestingly, Christian sarcophagi show this Old Testament prefiguration of Crucifixion and Eucharist with appurtenances of traditional Roman sacrifice scenes, such as the block-like altar with its flame. Abraham raises a very sword-like knife, sometimes with a gesture similar to that of the *victimarius* with his axe.[51] As in Roman animal sacrifice scenes, the victim is before the altar, not trussed upon it, as shown in the Dura Europas Synagogue fresco. As a representation of a willing human sacrifice, this scene can be understood as analogous to martyrdom. It appears on the early-fourth-century frieze sarcophagi, together with the Three Hebrews in the Fiery Furnace and Daniel in the Lions' Den, scenes of Old Testament salvations from tortures quite like those of the Roman executions in the arena. But only the sacrifice by the sword became an iconography of martyrdom in the fourth century.

What does Christian appropriation of gestures and attributes of sacrifice imply, if anything, about Christian experience of real sacrifices in the mid-fourth century? It is obvious that no personal observation of actual sacrifices on the part of artists or audience was required in order to compose or understand these visual allusions. The city of Rome, where these sarcophagi were made and used, had recently received the Tetrarchic Suovetaurilia and the Arch of Constantine, and still preserves accessible sacrificial iconographies from earlier centuries. The artists of the fifth-century Ambrosian Illiad and Vatican Vergil[52] were able to depict a variety of pagan sacrifices in the Roman style, with and without animals, possibly composing them afresh. The closely related Quedlinburg Itala,[53] with its elaborate instructions to the painters, illustrates I Samuel 15, with Saul as a Roman-style general pouring his libation at a flaming altar. No *victimarii*, *camilli*, or sheep and cattle captured from the Amalekites are shown. The sacrifice shown with this traditional Roman schema is an example of a bad sacrifice, against God's command. The herds of the Amalekites were to be destroyed, not sacrificed. Samuel's rebuke in verses 22–23: "Does the Lord delight in burnt offerings and sacrifices as much as in obeying the Lord? To obey is better than sacrifice, and to heed is better than the fat of rams. For rebellion is like the sin of divination, and arrogance like the evil of idolatry" is an anti-pagan proof text. Nevertheless, the Roman libation and altar depicted are not especially freighted with negative implications, for folio 4 uses a similar altar and flame for the altar before the temple of Solomon.

Thus, the conversion of sacrifice by pictorial allusions in Christian art cannot tell us anything about sacrificial practice. But does it depend in some way on the waning role of sacrifice or of its depiction in the ideology of pagan religion? Or does it support the hypothesis that the representation of sacrifice was already not especially central to pagan, or Roman civic, religious identity? These hypotheses depend on the old postulate that Christians purposely avoided forms, such as the temple, too closely associated with pagan practices, preferring to adapt for Christian use more neutral forms, especially from the civic sphere, such as the basilica. However, Mathews has elaborated on Christian continuities with certain pagan iconographies of divinity, such as high-backed thrones,[54] and Christian art easily adopted narrative devices such as personifications of place from mythological depictions. Despite vigorous polemic in texts against pagan practices, Christian visual culture participates fairly seamlessly in the surrounding Greco-Roman image practices. The "camillus" of the Pilate scene is recognizable because of the permeation of the civic visual culture by state religion, in the simplified form of imperial sacrifice as explicated by Gordon. The allusion to sacrifice is a recognizable visual narrative device, like a personification of place, for example, the *Caelus* on the Bassus sarcophagus, that might in other contexts be a divinity in himself. The conception of such a figure is also possibly a deliberate conversion of that state and civic imagery of sacrifice in Christian use.

Sacrifice as a pagan practice in the mid-fourth century was a site of cultural contention, between Constantius's bans and Julian's promotions and their critics, between Christian festival-goers and pagan senatorial priests, between moralist philosophers, pagan and Christian, and theurgists. Imagery of sacrifice was ripe to do "cultural work" for Christian patrons aspiring to promote not just an imperially patronized religion, but a public and civic conversion to a new state religion with its own ideology of sacrifice. The "imperialization of Christian art" (which, *pace* Mathews, never meant literally showing Christ as a Roman emperor) implies not just taking over "secular" power imagery from the state for Christian themes. A Christian state will have to replace state sacrifice iconography, too.

The conversion of sacrifice motifs in the fourth-century iconography of passion and martyrdom was not, in fact, part of that later Christian elaboration of the imagery of imperial piety and power, however. It answered instead to ecclesial institutional needs, addressed by bishops, to define and control access to Christian powers of sanctity. The example of Nereus and Achilleus, built into the Damasian expansion of the cemetery of Domitilla, and the appearance of the Peter and Paul scenes in the wake of basilica-building at their tombs by the highest authorities of church and state suggest that the origins of the imagery lie in Roman modes of promoting and controlling local martyr cults and the meaning of martyrdom. Neither the saints nor their iconographies were chosen for their individual theological importance or for the authenticity or drama of accounts of their martyrdoms. Rather, the images endorse a particular concept of martyrial sanctity, as a sacrifice and an imitation of Christ. Depictions of martyrdoms of Peter and Paul visually present this concept as the very foundation of the church of Rome. Nereus and Achilleus and martyrdoms by the sword visibly differentiate such martyrdoms of the heroic past from the continuing spectacles of the legitimate punitive power of the state. The emphasis in fourth-century imagery on martyrdom as a philosophical sacrifice, whether through the sacrificial swing of the sword or, like Peter, through imitation of the Passion of Christ, selects among possible meanings of martyrdom offered by earlier texts. The selection itself fosters the authority and sanctity of martyrs. At the same time, it may increase the distance longitudinally between the heroic past of the martyrs and the present comfortable Christians and rival claimants to disputed spiritual authority, as well as vertically between the holy martyr, so close to Christ, and the ordinary faithful. Such effects surely contributed to successful martyr-management by the increasingly allied authorities of church and state. At the same time, the new, converted imagery of sacrifice effectively inserted the church, as promoter and administrator of the martyr cult, as an institutional mediator between human and divine, in the place once occupied by emperors, officials, and public benefactors, represented as sacrificers. The Christian sacrificers represented are the now absent willing victims, while a new communal and civic allegiance to the cult of martyrs begins to admit a new official class to public power.

NOTES

1. *Phoenix* 49.4 (1995): 331–56; Nicole Belayche, "« Partager la Table des Dieux ». L'empereur Julien et les Sacrifices," *Revue de l'histoire des Religions* 218 (2001): 457–86.

2. Scott Bradbury, "Constantine and the Problem of Anti-Pagan Legislation in the Fourth Century," *Classical Philology* 89.2 (1994): 120–39; John Curran, "Constantine and the Ancient Cults of Rome: The Legal Evidence," *Greece & Rome* 43.1 (1996): 68–80; Roland Delmaire, "La Législation sur les Sacrifices au iv Siècle. Un Essai d'interprétation," *Revue Historique De Droit Français et étranger* (1922–) 82.3 (2004): 319–33.

3. J. Elsner, "Sacrifice in Late Roman Art," in *Greek and Roman Animal Sacrifice Ancient Victims, Modern Observers*, edited by C. Faraone, 120–63 (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012); Frank R. Trombley, "Paganism in the Greek World at the End of Antiquity: The Case of Rural Anatolia and Greece." *The Harvard Theological Review* 78.3/4 (1985): 327–52; K. W. Harl, "Sacrifice and Pagan Belief in Fifth- and Sixth-Century Byzantium," *Past & Present*, no. 128 (1990): 7–27.

4. Declining sacrifice as cause: Harl (1990); as effect: Belayche, Elsner, p. 162.

5. W. E. Kaegi, "The Fifth-Century Twilight of Byzantine Paganism," *Classica et Mediaevalia* 27 (1966): 243–75.

6. D. C. Feeney, "Interpreting Sacrificial Ritual in Roman Poetry: Disciplines and their Models," in Rituals in ink : a conference on religion and literary production in ancient Rome held at Stanford University in February 2002 edited by Alessandro Barchiesi, Jörg Rüpke, and Susan Stephens, Stuttgart : Steiner, 2004, 1–21. F. Prescendi, Décrire et Comprendre le Sacrifice, Stuttgart: Steiner, 2007.

7. Elsner, "Sacrifice in Late Roman Art," 158–59; 162–63.

8. "Julian's Pagan Revival and the Decline of Blood Sacrifice." Phoenix 49, no. 4 (1995): 331–56. doi:10.2307/1088885.

9. R. L. Gordon, "'The Veil of Power,' and 'The Civic Compromise,'" in *Pagan Priests: Religion and Power in the Ancient World*, edited by Mary Beard and John A. North (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1990).

10. Kaegi, "Fifth-Century Twilight," 245, 249.

11. For example, Trombley, Frank R. "Paganism in the Greek World at the End of Antiquity: The Case of Rural Anatolia and Greece." The Harvard Theological Review 78, no. 3/4 (1985): 327–52. http://www.jstor.org.ezproxy.uky.edu/stable/1509694

12. C. Grottanelli, "Tuer des animaux pour la fête de St. Félix," Brepols online: https://www.brepolsonline.net/doi/abs/10.1484/M.BEHE-EB.4.00039, in response to Dennis Trout, "Christianizing the Nolan Countryside: Animal Sacrifice at the Tomb of St. Felix," *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 3 (1995): 281.

13. Feeney's model for meanings of sacrifice in Augustan literature, the term is ultimately based on Jonathan Z. Smith, *Map Is Not Territory: Studies in the History of Religions* (Leiden: Brill, 1988).

14. Giuseppe Bovini and Hugo Brandenburg, *Repertorium der Christlich-Antiken Sarkophage. I Rom und Ostia*, Deutsche Archäologisches Institut (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, Mainz am Rhein: Verlag Philipp von Zabern, 1967), no. 680. Other Passion Sarcophagi: *Rep*. I, nos 28, 45, 49, 57, 58, 61, 189, 201, 211, 212, 215, 679, 680; *Rep*. III, nos 55/154, 291, 297, 412, 498, 569.

15. K. Bowes, *Private Worship, Public Values, and Religious Change in Late Antiquity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 88–92, with references.

16. Philippe Pergola, "Nereus et Achilleus Martyres: L'intervention de Damase à Domitille (avec un appendice sur les résultats des fouilles récentes de la Basilique de Damase à Generosa)," in *Saecularia Damasiana. Atti del convegno internazionale per il XVI centenariodella morte di papa Damaso I* (Città del Vaticano: Pontificio Istituto di Archeologia Cristiana, 1986), 203–44; Vincenzo Fiocchi Nicolai, "Origini e Sviluppo delle Catacombe Romane," in *Le Catacombe Cristiane di Roma: Origini, Sviluppo, Apparati Decorativi, Documentazione Epigrafica*, edited by Vincenzo Fiocchi Nicolai, Fabrizio Bisconti, and Danilo Mazzoleni, 53–54, 60–63 (Regensburg: Schnell & Steiner, 1998).

17. Robert J. Daly, *Christian Sacrifice: The Judaeo-Christian Background before Origen* (Washington DC: Catholic University Press, 1978), for a survey; further literature in Boudewijn Dehandschutter, "Sacrifice and Martyrdom: Some Notes on 'Martyrium Polycarpi' 14 and 'Vita Polycarpi 6,'" *Archivio di Filosofia* 76 Il Sacrificio

(2008): 309–15, although the author is concerned to defend a narrow definition of sacrifice that would differentiate Christian from Jewish conceptions of martyrdom and Martyrdom from Crucifixion, the only true Christian sacrifice.

18. André Grabar, *Early Christian Iconography: A Study of Its Origins* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1968), 49–50.

19. André Grabar, *Martyrium*: *Recherches Sur Le Culte Des Reliques Et L'art Chrétien Antique*, vol. II (Paris: Collège de France, 1946), 254.

20. J. W. Salomonson, *Voluptatem specandi non perdat sed mutet. Observations sur L'iconographie du Martyre en Afrique Romaine* (Amsterdam: North-Holland, 1979).

21. Herbert Musurillo, *Acts of the Christian Martyrs* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972).

22. Cinzia Vismara, "Sangue et Arena. Iconografie di supplizi in margine a: *Du Chatîment dans la Cité*," *Dialoghi di Archeologia* s. 3, 5 (1987): 135–55, gives examples in first- and second-century Gaul; for others in the East: Tullia Ritti and Salim Yilmaz, "Gladiatori e *Venationes* a Hierapolis di Frigia," *Atti della Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei* anno 395 *Memorie* s. 9, 10 (1998): 444–542, specifically 492, 514–21.

23. Vismara, "*Sangue et Arena*." Adriano La Regina, ed., Catalogue of an Exhibition, 2001, Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Cultural, Soprintendenza Archeologica di Roma, Roma, Colosseo (Milan: Electa, 2001–2002).

24. For example, gold glass with gladiators or with martyrs.

25. Konrad Weidemann, *Spätantike Bilder des Heidentums und Christentums* (Mainz: Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum, 1990), plate 9, lame man; plate 10, Lazarus between Christ and a woman, both with palm leaves; plate 14, criminal bound to a post between two bears; plates 18 and 19, Hercules with animals and palm leaves; plate 42, charioteer with palm leaf; plates 46 and 47, animals and *venator*; Salomonson, *Voluptatem specandi non perdat sed mutet*, 43–50.

26. Klaus Wessel, *Die Kreuzigung. Iconographia Ecclesiae Orientalis* (Recklinghausen: A. Bongers, 1966), 12–13.

27. Ibid.

28. Musurillo, *Acts of the Christian Martyrs*, 74–75.

29. Aurelius Victor, *Caesares* 41, 4; however, CT 9, 5, 1 given by Constantine to Maximus, Praefectus Urbis Romae in 314 or 320–323 says that a slave or freedman who accuses his master is to be affixed to the *patibulum*, of unspecified shape.

30. Musurillo, *Acts of the Christian Martyrs*, 182–83; 32–33.

31. CT 9, 18, 1. I translate "show" here to reflect the later stipulation that the criminal is to be sent into combat unarmed, to be killed, not trained in gladiator combat.

32. CT 9, 40, 8. The same emperors granted the same exemption to members of their court: CT 9, 40, 11.

33. NTh 17, 1, 1; CT 7, 18, 4–18; CT 16, 1, 4; 16, 4, 1; 16, 5, 9, no method is stipulated, however.

34. John Matthews, *The Roman Empire of Ammianus* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989), 437.

35. *Rep*. I, nos 28, 45, 49, 58, 189, 201, 211, 667, 679, 680; *Rep*. III, nos 41, 53, 291, 498. The entry into Jerusalem appears earlier on the frieze sarcophagi, and was later incorporated into the Passion cycle, but may be conceived primarily as a theophany at this date.

36. G. Wilpert, "Una Perla della Scultura Cristiana Antica di Arles," *Rivista di Archeologia Cristiana* 2 (1925): 35–53, 46.

37. Matt. 27:11–14, Pilate asks him whether he is king of the Jews; Jesus responds that it is Pilate who said it; thereafter Jesus is silent.

38. For example, *Rep*. I, nos 58, 189, 667, soldier with Cross; 679, Peter with Cross; 61, (201?), 215, standing between soldiers. These may also be related to an earlier scene of an Arrest of Peter, when he converts his jailers and escapes, a theme appropriate to the miracles and deliverances of the frieze sarcophagi where it appears.

39. For example, St. Laurence gold glass; Mausoleum of Galla Placidia mosaic.

40. Georg Daltrop, "Anpassung eines Relieffragmentes an den Deckel desIumius Bassus Sarkophages," *Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia Rendiconti* 51/52 (1978/1980): 157–70.

41. Musurillo, *Acts of the Martyrs*, 16–17; 162–63.

42. Ibid., 260–65.

43. By the fourth century, too, beheading by the sword was an execution of relative dignity, the death of Roman senators: P. D. Garnsey, *Social Status and Legal Priviledge* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1970).

44. Scene 73, Ludovisi Battle Sarcophagus.

45. For example, Ritti and Yilmaz, reliefs, such as figs 8 and 13.

46. *Agon*, for example, Polycarp, Perpetua and Felicitas, Pionius; *praelium, milites Christi*, for example, Marianus and James, Montanus and Lucius and companions, Julius the Veteran; Martyrs of Lyons uses both.

47. Musurillo, *Acts of the Martyrs*, 12–13, on Polycarp.

48. Ibid., 78–79.

49. Ibid., 92–93; 270–71; 316–17. This list is not exhaustive.

50. Mantua Biographical sarcophagus; Leptis Arch. The gesture can also appear in scenes of combat or execution of a defeated foe, as on the Antonine Altar of Ephesus; Orestes sarcophagi for the murder of Clytemnaestra and Aegisthus.

51. For example, *Rep*. 12, comparable to the passage relief of Trajan's Arch at Benevento.

52. Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Cod. F. 205 Inf.; Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica, Cod. Vat. Lat. 3225.

53. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Cod. theol. lat., fol 484, fol. 2r.

54. Thomas F. Mathews, *The Clash of Gods: A Reinterpretation of Early Christian Art* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), 103–108.

Epilogue

Walter Kaegi and His Legacy

David Olster and Christian Raffensperger

Walter believes and teaches that scholarship is a conversation, a conversation conducted over a long time, often with interlocutors long dead. Great scholars like Edward Gibbon, Karl Krumbacher, and J. B. Bury are still part of the conversation, and while many voices may have fallen silent, others have picked up the thread of their argument even if they do not realize it. Benedetto Croce wrote that all history is history of the present, and the moving lens of the present gives the discipline of history its dynamism as each generation peers through that shifting lens to reinvent the past. But sometimes that narrow focus can lead to a sort of academic myopia. Scholars can become so engrossed in contemporary debates and reinterpretations that they can forget the fact that their own constructions of the past would not be possible without the generations of scholars that preceded them.

Although no scholar today (I think) would agree that Christianity and barbarism undid the Roman Empire, as Ian Wood has made clear in *The Transformation of the Roman West*, every scholar since Gibbon is indebted to him for problematizing the institutional and cultural relationship of Christianity and Romanity and providing more than 200 years of scholars with the intellectual challenge of disagreeing not only with him, but also with the succeeding generations of scholars that disagreed with him, and offering their own solutions that future generations will use as fodder to inspire their own dissertations, articles, and books. Gibbon may have dropped out of the footnotes, but he remains a vital part of the scholarly conversation.

Walter taught that no scholar, no matter how "cutting edge," should forget that she was part of this continuity and that whatever methodological innovations or hermeneutical gyrations shifted the diction or grammar of historical interpretation, one had to look beyond the most recent article or book and seek to understand the entire historiographic evolution of a problem. Perhaps this clear understanding of his own place in the continuum of historical inquiry motivated him to acquire his encyclopedic bibliographic knowledge. He was able to keep track of the shifting themes and streams of scholarly debates throughout the Byzantine, Late Antique, and Medieval worlds and not only recommended reams of bibliography to his students, but urged them to follow scholarly debates to their origins, that the scholars of a hundred years ago or more remained relevant. His broad knowledge of the historiography allowed him to rethink questions that had been considered settled, and to acknowledge the relevance and value of scholars that had been relegated to the category of "out-of-date." One of the most telling in current scholarly debates is his consideration of the ideas of Han Georg Beck (noted in the Introduction), whose work has returned to scholarly debates in recent years, particularly on the subject of the Byzantine state.

Thus, no scholar or scholarly interpretation was irrelevant to Walter. He constantly encouraged—one might more accurately say required—his students to read the scholars who have gone before in order to understand the *longue duree* of scholarship and the positive contributions of each generation. Armed with that knowledge, they were expected to reexamine the primary sources in order to offer their own original contribution. He encouraged and supported graduate students to take on giants of the field such as Dmitri Obolensky. This encouragement and support for historiographically aware, evidence-based analysis, rather than on the last article or particular "school," informed his pedagogy and that of those scholars with whom he worked most closely like Richard Hellie and Fred Donner.

Walter did not invent the disciplinary tools of *Quellenkritik*, chronology, and cultural studies, but he employed them in original and influential ways because he was intensely conscious of the assumptions that lay behind them, and so could critically apply these tools to the sources in his own highly original way. He might not be Edward Gibbon—who is?—but his work has been and will be read for a very long time. Several of his books and articles discussed in the Introduction are still footnoted by scholars forty and fifty years on because they are seminal works that have raised broad questions with which scholars will continue to wrestle. And if a time comes when scholars only footnote the scholars responding to Walter's works, Walter will still remain part of the conversation even when scholars are unaware of his contribution.

And as this volume demonstrates, Walter's legacy extends beyond late antique history. The chapters included here illustrate how Walter's methods and problematic have been disseminated through a wide variety of historical fields and academic disciplines. As a scholar, a teacher, and model, Walter not only changed scholars' understanding of the past, but inspired his students to do the same. This volume hopefully demonstrates just how successfully he did that, and his students offer it to him with the greatest respect and gratitude.

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